Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae

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HENRY FROWDE

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Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae

The occasional Offices of the Church
of England according to the old
use of Salisbury the Prymer
in English and other
prayers and forms
with dissertations
and notes

BY

WILLIAM MASKELL, M.A.

In Three Volumes

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Preface.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.[1]

I CANNOT think that any, even a short, preface to these volumes is of absolute necessity. They will sufficiently explain themselves; as intended to supply some information respecting the ritual and offices of the church of England during the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation. This information has been sought for in the only fit repositories; namely, in the documents themselves which may still be extant.

But I would take this opportunity of expressing my fear that although means have been open to me they have not been so profitably used as they might have been; that instead of one Office which has been selected another should rather have been chosen; that the notes and observations are not in some places required, and in others, where real difficulties exist, they have been omitted altogether; that references to more authorities should have been added on some subjects or were not necessary upon

[1] With one or two verbal alterations and omissions.

others. To these and such objections (of the reasonableness of which I cannot be too sensible) I have only to offer the answer, if answer it be, that no one can know exactly all that is, or is not, required by way either of explanation or selection; and that I trust that these volumes, as a whole, will not be found to be entirely useless.

There is very much in the succeeding pages and in another work (*The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*) which will be published at the same time, involving doctrines of the highest importance, and opening questions which have been over and over again debated in the catholic Church. To have passed all these by without remark would have been wrong; to have entered into them at any length, or with the pretence of exactness in the detail, would have been impossible within the space which my limits would allow. I have therefore been obliged rather to seem to lay down decisions where reasons might have been asked for; and to give results and determinations instead of the arguments by which they ought to be arrived at. This, I fear, will be more evident in the preface to the *Ancient Liturgy* than even in the present work; but let me in all honesty and sincerity assure the reader that on whatever subject I have ventured so to speak, it has only been after much consideration and careful enquiry; and with the earnest and sincere desire to promote the truth, as it has always been held by the One Holy Catholic Church of Christ. Upon

another point, it must be also said, I have been very anxious; whilst I have not wished to shrink from the expression of a plain opinion in any case which might seem to call for it, I have striven to avoid harsh and unkind words towards others, and to keep within the reasonable bounds of Christian controversy. I have endeavoured to remember that they whose judgments are different from my own may be far more competent to argue upon many matters on which I have nevertheless not hesitated to speak undoubtingly my belief.

And in this place also it is incumbent upon me to discharge a most welcome duty; the acknowledgement of my best thanks to all who have given me assistance towards the completion of the object which I have had in view.[2]

Lastly and especially am I bound to bless and praise Him, Who by His most gracious gifts of health and time has suffered me to finish the work

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[2] Among these I named particularly the then archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley; Dr. Denison, bishop of Salisbury; the dean and chapter of Salisbury, for their transcript of the register of St. Osmund; the dean and chapter of Bangor, for the loan of the Bangor pontifical; the dean and chapter of Exeter, for bishop Grandisson's "ordinale;" the university of Cambridge, for four manuscripts; the president and fellows of St. John's college, Oxford, for the Hereford missal; and the master and fellows of Emmanuel college, Cambridge, for their manuscript prymer in English.

In preparing this edition, I have again given scarcely less trouble than before to the librarians of the British museum and of the Bodleian: and once more I gratefully acknowledge the constant goodwill and attention which they have always shown me.

which I undertook: of Him and to Him, on such an occasion as the present, my words spoken ought to be both careful and few.

August, 1846.

A long time has passed away since the last words of the above preface were written; very earnestly indeed I now desire humbly to repeat them.

I am anxious to express my sincere thanks to the Delegates and Secretary of the Clarendon Press for the care which has been taken in printing these books, and for their unvarying kindness in considering every suggestion which I proposed.

The additions which have been made in this edition extend to more than two hundred pages; and are mixed up with the text and notes. Although very much more is now known about the old English rituals than in 1846 I yet venture to hope that some of these additions, whether of new offices and prayers or with the wish further to illustrate and explain, may still prove to be useful.

I have thought it right to avoid argument as much as possible; not because I dislike controversy—rather, perhaps, the contrary—but because for more than one reason it would be out of place.

These books are intended (now, as they were forty years ago) chiefly for the use of the clergy and laity of the reformed Anglican church. And this, not only at home but in our colonies and in the

United States; in short, wherever the Book of Common Prayer is accepted as the form of public worship. The rituals observed in England for nearly a thousand years before the reign of Edward the sixth, and on which the rites and ceremonies of the common Prayer book are said to be founded, and from which they claim to be derived, ought always to be a subject about which the clergy, at least, of the Anglican church should not be ignorant.

If, therefore, I have succeeded in my endeavour to avoid giving offence to any one I shall be well pleased.

But let every reader or student of these pages remember that rituals, above all other classes of religious books, supply unfailing sources of controversy. Ritual is the ever-sounding voice, from age to age, of the Christian Church; as to her doctrine no less than her practice. People not uncommonly forget this. Constant attendance at public worship year after year is apt to produce a carelessness of recollection that every prayer said and everything done by bishop, priest, or deacon has a real and special meaning, as an act of faith or as a symbol and outward expression of what the Church teaches. The omission of an old or the introduction of a new ceremony, or the change even of a single word in an ancient prayer, may always be traced to the necessity of opposing some heresy or of further establishing and insisting on some article of the Faith. Rightly regarded, the public devotions

and ceremonies of the Church are intended to promote, and in fact never fail to promote, the spiritual welfare of her children, both in belief and practice. We cannot dispute one fact; namely, that where there is a bare and meagre ritual in any religious body which calls itself Christian there can be but little claim to teach with certainty what is true and what is not true.

But if I pursue this subject I must fall into the very course which it has been my desire throughout to avoid. However abruptly, therefore, this preface may seem to end, let it end here.

W. M.

February, 1882.

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A Dissertation upon the Ancient Service Books of the Church of England.

CHAPTER I.

THERE is no subject which earlier calls upon the attention of the enquirer into the history of the old Liturgy, the old Divine Offices, and the old Ritual of the Church of England, than this, namely, the number of the books in which anciently that Ritual was contained and the distinctions between them. In modern days one volume and that not a large one, under the comprehensive title of the Book of Common Prayer, includes all that relates to the daily public worship of the reformed Church of England, the liturgy, the occasional offices, the ordinal, and the rubrics which her ministers are to observe.

But the student cannot make one step further back than the middle of the sixteenth century before he meets with the names at least of many Service Books. The titles, for example, of missal, breviary, horæ, manual, pontifical, sometimes according to the use of one Church, sometimes of another,—now of York, and now of Sarum, and then of Hereford,—tell him as plainly as words can speak how different the case was during preceding centuries, up to the time when England became a Christian country.

As he will find this to be a most important subject of enquiry, in fact indispensable, so also is it one of no little difficulty. The books whose titles I have just alluded to are amongst the rarest which exist, and except in a few instances are to be found (whether printed or manuscript) only in the great public libraries. These often will be beyond his reach and opportunity of examination; and he will be driven to search in the works of the commentators upon the present Book of Common Prayer for the knowledge which he wants. We shall presently see what this is, both in quality and extent.

I enter upon this subject trusting that I may make some addition to the amount of information which is already[1] at hand. Premising only that when I speak of Service Books, as in the title to this dissertation, I do not use the term in its proper and strict sense, limited to the Service of the Holy Communion, but as applicable to all parts of the public worship, much in the same way as very learned writers, Azevedo for example, have not scrupled to call treatises upon the daily office, liturgical.

Let me then collect first what has been said by those to whom usually recourse is had in such enquiries. Bishop Sparrow in his *Rationale* and dean Comber in his *Companion to the Temple* take no notice of the matter; nor indeed does it exactly

[1] That is, up to the year 1846, the date of the first edition of this book. Since that time, many small books have been published on the common Prayer book, but containing, so far as I have seen, nothing which has not been taken (sometimes with and sometimes without acknowledgement) from this dissertation.

enter into the object which they proposed. Hamon L'Estrange in his *Alliance of Divine Offices* also passes it over without remark, except that he ignorantly states the prymer of 1545 to be the first translation in English of the daily service and litany, and that the creed, Pater noster, and decalogue were "to begin with, imparted, Anno 1536."[2] I have not been able to find any explanation in Dr. Nicholls' *Commentary*, though it would seem that some attempt at least should be there, for the title-page promises great things. Wheatley, to whose *Illustration* reference is generally made and properly so, nevertheless does not bestow a line upon the matter, with one exception (p. 23) where he tells us that the king's primer "came forth in 1545, wherein were contained, amongst other things, the Lord's prayer, creed, ten commandments, Venite, Te Deum, and other hymns and collects in English, and several of them in the same version in which we now use them."

Staveley in his *History of Churches* has a short notice about the service books, but it is a mere translation abridged of Lyndwood's gloss upon the famous constitution of archbishop Winchelsey, which I shall speak of at some length. But he goes on to say: "*Legenda.* A book containing the lessons to be read at the morning service. *Antiphonarium.* A book containing invitatories, hymns, responsories, verses, collects, &c., to be said or sung by priest and people, alternately. *Gradale*, or *Graduale.* A book containing several offices, as that of the sprinkling of holy water; the proceeds of the

[2] Chap. 1. p. 26.

mass; the holy offices, *kyrie*, &c. *Gloria in excelsis*, gradalia, hallelujah, the symbols to be sung at the offertory and the mass. *Psalterium.* The book of psalms. *Troperium*, or *Troparium*, the service in which the people answer the priest, called also sometimes *Liber sequentiarum.* *Ordinale*, a book of rules and orders, to direct the right manner of saying and performing holy service. *Missale.* A book containing all things belonging to the service of the mass. *Manuale.* A book always at hand, containing all things belonging to the sacraments and sacramentals, the hallowing of holy water, and all other things to be hallowed; and the ordering of processions."[3]

Now this is nearly all wrong, and certainly half guess-work; and not a bad example of the loose and inaccurate way in which authors who are called "commentators on the Common Prayer Book" were not ashamed to write. Ignorant themselves, they were at least not mistaken in relying upon the belief that they were supposed to be teaching people who, still more ignorant, would innocently be satisfied to accept their explanations. What Staveley could mean by "the proceeds of the mass" is quite unintelligible.

Shepherd, a very inferior writer who may be ranked nearly as low as the twin "commentators" Mant and D'Oyly, and whose chief claim to the

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[3] p. 184. White Kennet in his *Parochial antiquities* blunders no less than those mentioned in the text. He tells us that a missal was a book which "contained all the offices of devotion." The "canon." (he goes on to explain) was the rules of the order of any religious house; and was generally bound up with the obituary, or necrologium. *Glossary*, vol. 2.

little consideration which he has met with has probably rested on his venturing to depreciate his predecessor Wheatley, says in the introduction to his *Elucidation*, "The commissioners of 1548 proceeded to examine the *breviaries*, *missals*, *rituals*, and other books of offices at that time in use." A foot-note adds, "A general account of the contents of these books, and of their difference from each other, is given in p. 262 of the Elucidation in the note."[4] But there is no such note in that place, nor (that I can discover) in any other part of his work.[5]

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[4] Introduction, p. xxxviij.

[5] A very pretentious volume was published in 1846, called "Ecclesiastical records of England, from the fifth century to the reformation: by the Revd. R. Hart." I had occasion to take notice of the book at the time, and will quote the following remarks which I then made on Mr. Hart's explanation of the old service books. "'Bibliotheca, a summary of the old and new Testaments, compiled by Jerome;' the bibliotheca was the bible itself. 'Consuetudinarium, the ritual, or the portifory;' it was neither the one nor the other. 'The Directorium was the ritual,' which it was not. 'Emortuale, the book containing the office for the visitation of the sick, the service of the viaticum mass [!], extreme unction, commendation of a soul departing, and the burial office;' egregious nonsense. '*Enchiridion*, the ritual;' which it was not. '*Horæ*, something like the breviary, but without the lessons;' the horæ always included the lessons of their proper offices. '*Necrologium*, often contained a catalogue of church furniture;' so do family bibles, as they are called, often contain lists of baptisms and deaths. '*Obituarium*, contained the burial office,' which it did not, 'and the names of the deceased were often registered at the end;' this happens to be the exact object of the obituarium. '*Ordinale*, the same as the portiforium;' it was a totally different book. 'Portiforium, a book of rubrical directions,' which it was not: 'and sometimes the word is used to signify a breviary;' which it always means."

The rest of these "Ecclesiastical records" was of the same worthless character.

Mr. Palmer, in his *Origines liturgicæ*, has again disappointed us. I can find no other account of the books used in the daily service than occurs in his first volume, p. 207: and this being the most complete we have yet arrived at, yet not over-long, shall also be transcribed:—

"The *Psalter* used in the celebration of divine service generally contained, at the end, several hymns taken from the old and new Testament, such as Benedictus, &c., and the Te Deum, and Athanasian creed, all of which were appointed for the service of the canonical hours.

"The *Bible* contained the lessons of scripture, which were not formerly selected and placed in a distinct volume, but were read at the nocturns from the bible itself.

"The *Antiphonarium* contained the anthems and responsories, which were sung in the course of divine service.

"The *Hymnarium* comprised the hymns in verse, which from the time of Ambrose were chanted in the canonical hours.

"The *Collectarium* included the collects to be said at the end of the services, and the *capitula* or short lessons, which were also sometimes recited in the offices.

"The *Homilarium*, *Passionarium*, and *Martyrologium* contained the comments of the fathers on the gospel of the day, and the account of the martyrdom of the saints for each distinct festival.

"About the eleventh century, the *Breviary* was formed out of all these books; the lessons, anthems, responsories, hymns, &c. for the different days of the year being all placed in the same volume with

the psalter, prayers, &c. And in later times the *breviary* was divided into two parts, one for the summer and the other for the winter half of the year, and sometimes it was divided into four parts; so that it was more portable and convenient for the use of those clergy and monks who were accustomed[6] to recite the offices for the canonical hours at some time in the day. From this cause also it was sometimes entitled *Portiforium*."[7]

The above therefore appears to be the extent of the information afforded by works generally appealed to at present [1846] by the English student; I have collected it, such as it is, for two reasons: one, that it will save him much trouble in searching those authorities; and, secondly, it shows how little the whole amounts to and that further labour is still demanded.[8]

But there are two more authors who have touched upon the subject of old English service books: I am certainly bound to notice them, though they are not likely to be referred to for this purpose. These are Gough and Dr. Dibdin. There is this to be said for the commentators who are mentioned above, that not having ventured much they have made in proportion few mistakes, and so do not in that

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[6] *Obliged*, I presume, would be the proper word.

[7] Not that the *portiforium* was always a portable book, as will be seen hereafter.

[8] If the general character and value of Dr. Hook's *Church dictionary* are to be estimated by his explanation of the word "Breviary" it is a book which students should be warned against consulting. He tells us that *compline* is the same as *post-communio*: and that "originally, every person was obliged to recite the breviary every day; but by degrees the obligation was reduced to the clergy only." No authorities are referred to in support of these curious statements.

way mislead: but here we must complain of most egregious blunders.

Yet perhaps Gough only is to be blamed, for Dr. Dibdin has but copied his statements and complacently (as upon a matter of no consequence) repeated his errors.[9]

Let us then turn at once to the *British topography:*[10] and, upon the same principle that the reader may find collected here the chief explanations existing, I shall make a somewhat long extract and point out his mistakes. We are told,—

"No cathedral has preserved such a variety of service books for its *Use* as Sarum. This is another name for the *Ordinale:* it was also named the *Consuctudinary*. . . . . The *missal* was the ritual, containing the rites, directions to the priests, prayers used in the administration of the sacraments," only one, viz. the eucharist, "blessing of holy water," sometimes, "and the whole service used in processions;" very seldom any portion of it. "It begins with the *speculum sacerdotum*, or directions for celebrating the mass;" this tract seldom occurs in the missals, neither is it directions, &c. as Gough tells us: "or with benedictions of the bread and salt, or exorcisms. Then follows the service of every sunday (from the first in Advent), festival and eve . . . . prefaces, canons," what are canons? "*conclusio* and cautelæ missæ. Then the masses for saints, martyrs, &c."

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[9] *Bibliographical Decameron:* second day. This work is admirably illustrated with woodcuts, &c., and so far is entertaining; more than this in praise can scarcely be said with justice.

[10] Vol. 2. p. 319, Wiltshire.

"The *Breviary* seems to have been at first confined to rubrics:" this is a repetition of an hypothesis of Quesnel which I have examined elsewhere; "after became a more compendious missal(!) containing the whole office of the mass, and all services, except the forms of marriage." Lyndwood is quoted for this extraordinary statement but no reference given: I do not remember to have seen so compendious a breviary.

"The *Portiforium*, called also in some titles the *Breviarium*, and like it a commodious portable" not always portable "abridgement of the service, has a gloss or paraphrase on each portion of scripture." What does he mean? "It is sometimes called *Sanctorale*." Never: the edition named in the note must have been an odd volume. "It was divided into the *summer* and *winter* part according to the holidays; the summer containing only sundays, beginning with Trinity sunday; the winter, the saints' days." One would have supposed that with the books before him, as Gough had, no writer could have made such a statement.

"The *Enchiridion*, called also *Orarium*, is supposed to have been the same with the directorium:" from which it differed as much as any two books can which have nothing in common.

"The *Manuale* seems to have been a collection of prayers, canons(?), and other forms not ranged through the year as in the missal, and of a more portable size." Utterly wrong. "Lyndwood defines it the same as the ritual, containing all things belonging to the sacraments, sacramentals and benedictions:" why then did not our

author content himself with this, instead of making guesses?

"The *Horæ* begin with some short prayers, or *In principio erat verbum*, and consist of prayers, sentences, suffrages, vigils, and psalms." The "In principio" &c. is a quaint way indeed of speaking of the first chapter of the gospel of St. John.

"The *Processionale* is a rubric of processions and chanting."

"The *Graduale*, derived from *gradus* or *gradiri*, was nearly the same with the processional, a set of chants for processions," with which it had nothing to do, "though the words are not always the same. In this the epistles and gospels were set to music, with other choir music: and it contained all that was to be sung by the choir at high mass,—and the office for sprinkling holy water." Lyndwood is quoted for this last sentence, and fortunately not amended.

"The *Legend* contained the lessons taken out of scripture and the fathers, and the lives of the saints, &c."

"The *Liber festivalis* was a set of homilies either in Latin or English, for the several festivals and saints' days."

"The *Psalter*, besides David's psalms, contained the other scripture songs, and a set of hymns sung at vespers, matins, and other canonical hours throughout the year:" this latter part confounds the hymnal with the psalter.

"The *Hymni* were confined to the hymns in honour of saints, the Te Deum, Magnificat, &c. The *Expositio hymnorum* is a gloss or parsing of the hymns; reducing them to the meanest capacities,

which was but too necessary. The *Sequences* or *Prosæ*, whose exposition follows that of the hymns, were sentences or songs of praise sung at mass."

"The *Primer* seems to have been peculiar to the English Church; a collection of prayers, psalms, hymns, suffrages, matins, &c. in Latin and English; retained with alteration after the reformation."[11]

CHAPTER II.

I SHALL first lay before the reader a series of notices collected from authentic documents of the English Church which have reference to the books used in her public worship or authorised by her. We shall thus arrive at least at the names of many of them. For to hope to do more than this and to explain them, in such cases as we are able, from copies which are still extant would be a sure prelude to disappointment.

We may indeed venture to complain, adopting the words of a very learned writer whose object was limited to the choral books alone: "Hæc pauca,

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[11] Early in the last century, about the year 1710, some persons interested in antiquarian subjects were accustomed to meet in order to discuss and promote the knowledge of everything which was connected with the history and antiquities of Great Britain. In the British museum is a manuscript memorandum (Harleian, 7055) which contains a sketch of what they proposed to do "for the illustration of our national antiquities." Among the suggestions was this: "Accounts of the several books used in the Latin church, like Allatius's of the Greek ones." This small society increased and developed, some fifty years afterwards, into the Society of Antiquaries.

exempli causa, recensere libuit, catalogum enim texere infinitum foret omnium ejusmodi librorum, qui passim adhuc in monasteriis inter cimelia asservantur, magno plerumque ornatu conscripti, in pergameno etiam purpura tincto, litteris aureis vel argenteis: cujusmodi antiphonarii," &c.[12] There is this difference however: that Gerbert was speaking of the service books of Churches which have not suffered almost total alterations; and of the archives of monasteries which up to his time had happily been preserved from the fury of fanatics and the knavery of royal commissioners.

Pope Gregory, whose Christian zeal had urged him to undertake the conversion of the anglo-saxons, did not leave his missionary, St. Augustine, without the proper necessaries for the due performance of the Divine Service. Bede[13] tells us that when he sent the archbishop his pall, he sent also sacred vessels and vestments for the altar and for the priests and clerks, relics and many books, "necnon et codices plurimos." Named as they are together with vestments and sacred vessels we must conclude that these books were also intended for the public worship, and not for Augustine's private use. I may mention here that there is preserved in the Bodleian library a noble MS. gospels, which tradition states to have been one of these famous

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[12] Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra*, tom. I. 564.

[13] *Historia eccles.* lib. I. cap. xxix. So, again, Henry of Huntingdon: "Misit etiam papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo tunc temporis ab urbe Roma cooperatores ac verbi ministros plures, in quibus erant Mellitus, etc.: misit et per eos vasa et indumenta, codices, et ornamenta ecclesiis necessaria." *Hist.* lib. iij. p. 184 *b*.

books. Unquestionably for nearly a thousand years all the care which pious gratitude and reverence for St. Augustine and St. Gregory could suggest would have been bestowed upon these volumes; and at last they probably perished only through the destruction which accompanied the reformation.[14]

About fifty years afterwards we learn from the same author[15] that Benedict, the first abbot of Wearmouth, was equally careful to provide for the service of the altar; "cuncta quæ ad altaris et ecclesiæ ministerium competebant, quia domi invenire non potuit, de transmarinis regionibus advectare religiosus emptor curabat."

Bede also in his work *De remediis peccatorum* says: "Nunc ergo, O fratres, qui voluerit sacerdotalem auctoritatem accipere, in primis cogitet propter Deum et præparet arma ejus, antequam manus episcopi tangat caput, id est, psalterium, lectionarium, antiphonarium, missale, baptisterium, martyrilogium, homilias in anni circulo ad prædicationem bonis operibus, et computum cum cyclo, hoc est jus sacerdotum. Postea autem suum pœnitentialem."[16]

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[14] An account of these books is contained in the Canterbury MS. preserved at Trinity hall, Cambridge, and published by Wanley in his catalogue of Saxon MSS. See also Elstob's *Saxon homily*, p. 39.

There is good reason to believe that the magnificent leaf of an ivory diptych in the British museum, with the standing figure of an archangel, formed the cover of one of the books brought to England by St. Augustine. "Angelus longus eburneus, in ligno coopertus de cupro" is mentioned in a list of things belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1321. See appendix to professor Westwood's *Fictile ivories*.

[15] Beda, *Vita beatorum abbatum Benedicti*, &c. cap. 5.

[16] Cap. 1. This work is printed at the end of Augustinus, *Epitome juris pontif.*, whose notes

Egbert, archbishop of York, was a contemporary and friend of venerable Bede: the fourth chapter of the third book of his *Penitential* teaches us the great reverence which he thought was due to the books which were employed in the service of God, and consecrated to Him: "sacerdotes Dei, et diaconi, et alii Dei ministri quos in Dei templo Deo servire oportet, et reliquias et sacros libros manu tractare, castitatem suam usque servare debent."[16]

In the year 960 the canons of king Edgar were published: the third of these orders that all ministers "ad quamlibet synodum habeant quotannis libros et vestimenta ad servitium ecclesiasticum." The thirty-fourth respects the correctness of the books used in the divine worship: for it would appear that faulty copies were abroad, and negligently written: "Docemus etiam, ut quilibet sacerdos diligenter curet ut bonum et saltem justum librum habeat."[17]

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should be consulted; and in Wilkins, tom. 4. p. 451.

[16] Thorpe, *Ancient laws and institutes of England*, vol. 2. p. 197.

[17] Compare the third canon of a council of the province of York, A.D. 1195: "Quia secretum missæ frequenter invenitur, aut scriptorum falsitate, aut librorum vetustate corruptum, ita ut legi distincte non possit, archidiaconorum solicitudo provideat, ut in singulis ecclesiis ad verum et probatum exemplar canon missæ cum omni diligentia corrigatur," etc. Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 501. And again, one of the constitutions of Bishop Cantilupe of Worcester, A.D. 1240: "Omnes autem ecclesiæ libros habeant emendatos, quia per eorum falsitatem multa leguntur et canuntur a pluribus indecenter." Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 668.

Again, a remarkable chapter in MS. Exeter consuetudinary, of which I shall speak presently: "*De custodia librorum.* Inter cætera vero summe cavendum est, de librorum chori discordia: . . . unde oportet necessario quod psalteria quoad textum et medias versuum pausas vel punctos, et antiphonaria, cum gradalibus, ad unguem corrigantur tam in litera

This last injunction occurs amongst several which relate especially to the service of the holy eucharist; whence certainly the good and correct book must mean the missal. The word translated *sacerdos* in the thirty-fourth canon is pꞃeoꞅꞇ (*priest*), in the succeeding it is mæꞅꞅepꞃeoꞅꞇ (*mass-priest*), but this is an unimportant difference in the present case; as is clearly proved by the thirty-second canon, also bearing on our present point: "Docemus etiam, ut sacerdos nunquam missam celebret absque libro, et sit canon ei ante oculos positus, si velit, ne forte impingat." Here the original has pꞃeoꞅꞇ.[18]

We come now to a very important canon, the twenty-first of Ælfric's: "Habeant etiam arma ad spirituale opus, antequam sint ordinati: hæc sunt sancti illi libri, psalterium et liber epistolarum, liber evangeliorum, et missale, liber canticorum, et

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quam in cantu, juxta aliquem librum qui veracior inter cæteros reputatur."

Compare also Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 628; tom. 3. p. 61; *Annal. Burton.* apud *script. Anglic.* tom. 1. p. 318. As we have just seen, it was the duty of the archdeacon at his visitation to enquire into this matter: for example, again, in the year 1291: "Item statuimus quod archidiaconus, qui secundum apostolum non quæ sua sunt quærit sed quæ Jesu Christi, in sua visitatione provideat quod canon missæ emendetur." *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 179. So, also, among the articles of an archdeacon's visitation a few years previous was this: "An canon missæ sit rite correctus?" *Ibid.* tom. 1. p. 628.

[18] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 227. Johnson draws a curious conclusion from this canon. He says, "It is fairly intimated here that the priests used to say this Canon without book, and even here the priest is only permitted, not enjoined to read it." *Canons*, vol. 1. 960. 32. Now whatever "ᵹıꝼ he ꝩılle" may mean, it cannot mean that; else the order itself would be of no effect. For more than five hundred years earlier than king Edgar's reign priests were neither required nor allowed to celebrate the divine mysteries from memory.

manuale, numerale, et passionale, pœnitentiale, et lectionarium. His libris sacerdos (mæꞅꞅepꞃeoꞅꞇ) opus habet, et iis carere non potest, si ordinem suum recte observare velit, et populum, qui ad ipsum pertinet, jus docere: et caute circa eos observet, ut bene sint scripti."[19] Sir H. Spelman's text of this canon reads not passionale but pastorale; which Thorpe follows in his edition:[20] but I think not rightly: although, as will be seen in another place, the reason that Johnson[21] gives why it should not be *pastorale*, viz. that that book is the same as the *pœnitentiale* which immediately succeeds, is by no means conclusive; for the pastoral is the same as the manual.

Archbishop Ælfric in his pastoral epistle enumerates the same books except the passional or pastoral, whichever it be: "Beloved: ye priests should be provided with books. A mass-priest should, at least, have a mass-book, books of canticles, and reading books, psalter and manual, penitential and numeral; and these shall be sufficiently correct."[22]

A remarkable document recording a number of gifts by bishop Leofric to his church at Exeter, written on the fly-leaves of a manuscript of the gospels, includes an important list of books. Two full mass books, a collectaneum, two "pistel bec," two full song books, one night-song, one "ad te levavi," one tropere, two psalters, and a third (according to the use of Rome), two hymnaria, one

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[19] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. 252.

[20] *Ancient laws and institutes*, vol. 2. 350.

[21] *Canons*, vol. 1. 957. 21.

[22] Thorpe, *Ancient laws and institutes*, vol. 2. 385.

blessing book, . . . one martyrology, one canon, and one "ꞅcꞃıꝼꞇ boc" in English.[23]

In 1240 Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, held a diocesan synod, where in a canon "de ornamentis ecclesiarum" we find an order that every church should be furnished with "missale, breviarium, antiphonarium, gradale, troparium, manuale, psalterium, et ordinale."[24]

In the year 1250 a constitution of archbishop Gray occurs for the province of York: premising that great disputes had frequently arisen between the rectors of parishes and parishioners as to what part of the furniture and ornaments of the church each party was bound to provide,—it goes on to ordain that the parishioners are to furnish and keep in repair "de libris: legenda, antiphonare, gradale, psalterium, troparium, ordinale, missale, manuale."[25] So, about six years later, a bishop of Salisbury ordered the parishioners of his diocese to provide "missale, et libros sufficientes."[26]

A synod held at Exeter in bishop Quivil's time, A.D. 1287, decrees, cap. xij, the following books to be provided in every church: "missale bonum, gradale, troparium, manuale bonum, legenda, anti-

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[23] MS. Bodl. auct. D. 2. 16. The "night song" book probably contained the vespers and matins; and the shrift-book was the penitential of archbishop Ælfric. I presume that the "ad te levavi" refers to a manuscript of which the first line of the first page began with those words. It might possibly have been imperfect; and it is useless to attempt to decide what the book was.

[24] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 666.

[25] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 698.

[26] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 714. Compare also tom. 2. p. 171. 29, and p. 179. cap. xxxv, and p. 513, "et libros," &c.

phonale, psalteria, ordinale, venitare, ympnare, collectare."[27] Two years after, another diocesan synod under Gilbert bishop of Chichester, without specifying the books, orders: "Quia domum Dei decet ornari honore congruo, præcipimus in vasis, vestimentis, libris, et aliis ad divinum ministerium deputatis ecclesiis honorifice provideri."[28]

Passing by a statute of archbishop Peckham, of uncertain date, to the same effect as the one cited above of Walter Gray except that manuals only are specified,[29] we come to the famous constitution of Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, the fourth of those agreed upon at Merton, A.D. 1305. I shall here take the text as given by Lyndwood: "Ut parochiani ecclesiarum singularum nostræ Cantuariensis provinciæ sint de cætero certiores de defectibus ipsos contingentibus, ... volumus de cætero, quod teneantur invenire omnia inferius annotata, viz. legendam, antiphonarium, gradale, psalterium, troperium, ordinale, missale, manuale, calicem," &c.[30]

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[27] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 2. 139.

[28] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom 2. 171.

[29] I leave this as it was originally written; but the words being "manuales pro mortuis," and no other books named, the order more probably means something intended for carrying the dead or for lowering them into the grave.

[30] *Provinciale*, lib. iij. tit. 27, Ut parochiani. Wilkins used a different manuscript collated with one at Lambeth and another at Ely; neither of which appears to have included the missal; but he gives the constitution from another manuscript, immediately after, which does include the missal.

At the end of an English manuscript in the British museum, called *The mirror of sermons for the whole year*—rather an exposition of the gospels for each Sunday than strictly a *liber festivalis*—we have the following: "þes ben ye bokes yat ye prest schal

Nor were the authorities content only to make these numerous canons and orders: bishops and archdeacons and other ordinaries constantly enquired about the observance of them in their visitations. To take one example from the diocese of Salisbury by an archdeacon, late in the sixteenth century: "Whether you have sufficient boks for your churchis, that is to say, a portuorie, a legend, an antiphonar, a sawter, a masse boke, a manual, and a pie; whiche ye are bownde to have; and, if ye have those bokes, whether they be brokyn or torn; and if ye lakke any of them, or be in any fawte in them, ye shall presente it."[31]

I shall make one extract more to the same purpose; from the preface to a *Portiforium secundum vsum Sarum*, 1544. It forbids the printing of certain service books except by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch only: "that is to saie, the masse booke, the graile, the hympnal, the antyphoner, the processyonall, the manuel, the porteaus, and the prymer both in latine and also in english, ... within the space of seuen yeres nexte ensuynge."[32]

I should not be justified in passing over altogether without notice an extraordinary reason which was given among others for the alteration of the service books in 1549. This reason was retained in every common Prayer book from the time of Edward the sixth, through the reigns of Elizabeth

han and conen: libri sacramentorum [manual?], lectionarium, baptisterium, compotum, canonem [missal?], penitentialem, psalterium, omelias." Harleian MS. 5085, fol. 201.

[31] *Fasti eccles. Sar.* p. 131.

[32] 2 vols. 12mo., London, Grafton and Whitchurch. In my possession [1846].

and James and Charles,[33] down to 1662, when it was thrown aside in the last revision; most wisely. That cause must always bear the appearance of weakness which has resort to any bad principle likely to influence the multitude: and here we find, in a matter appertaining to the worship and service of the Most High, a suggestion which avarice alone would listen to.[34] It was in the preface: "Furthermore, by this ordre, the curates shall nede none other bookes for their publique seruice, but this boke, and the Bible: by the meanes wherof, the people shall not be at so great charge for bookes, as in tyme past they haue been."[35] This preface has seemed to some persons a composition which did honour to its author; and has been attributed to Cranmer. Bale positively states it as an undoubted fact; and Mr. Jenkyns, the editor of his *Remains*, while he thinks that "the common Prayer book and the ordination services published in the next year[36] can scarcely keep their

[33] *Book of common prayer*, fol. John Bill, 1661.

[34] There could have been no just accusation of niggardliness against the mediæval English Church, if we can rely—as undoubtedly we may—upon the evidence of an Italian ambassador who travelled through England about the year 1500. Speaking of the wealth of the country he says: "Above all are their riches displayed in the church treasures; for there is not *a parish church* in the kingdom so mean as not to possess crucifixes, candlesticks, censers, patens and chalices of silver." *Relation of England*, Camden society, p. 29.

[35] *Booke of the common prayer*, 1549. See it in the reprints by Dr. Cardwell, Mr. Keeling, &c.

[36] This is a mistake; the *Forme and maner of makyng and consecrating of archebisshoppes, priestes and deacons* was printed and published by Grafton, "mense Martii, 1549." In my possession (1846), but now in the British museum. It is a most rare volume; I believe still wanting in the libraries of the Bodleian and the university of Cambridge.

position upon the list of his works," yet allows that "a somewhat less questionable claim may be advanced in favour of the prefaces to these two publications."[37]

Let us see, lastly, how in the instance of one parish (by way of example) the old laws were obeyed. In the parish of Stratton, Cornwall, a small town, is still preserved [1846] a nearly complete series of the church accounts from the year 1512 up to 1604.[38]

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[37] *Remains of archbishop Cranmer*, Pref. p. liij.

[38] A very important and valuable series of accounts, now in my possession. Some large portions of them have lately (1879) been printed in the *Archæologia*, by the society of Antiquaries.

I shall here take the opportunity of adding a copy of an ancient deed, which (1845) is preserved in the chest of the same church. It forms a portion of the title-deeds of some property left for charitable uses, and although not connected with our present subject, yet so interesting both in itself and on account of its late date that I am glad to assist in its preservation. The deed has been taken away since 1845; nor do I know (1881) where it is, or in whose keeping. It is the manumission of a bond-woman: "Noverint universi per præsentes quod ego Johannes de Albo monasterio (John de Blanchminster), miles, manumissi et liberam feci ac infranchiavi Agnetem de Llandissoke, per manus Ricardi de Speckote, cum omnibus bonis et catallis suis et cum tota sequela sua, procreatis vel procreandis, domum et mansionem eligendam ubicunque voluerit. Nihil juris vel clamei mihi nec hæredibus meis in prædictam Agnetem, bonis et catallis suis seu sequelis suis, ratione nativitatis, vendicando seu retinendo in posterum, sed per præsentes exclusi simus in perpetuum. Et ego vero prædictus Johannes, et hæredes mei, prædictam manumissionem contra omnes mortales warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigillum meum apposui, hiis testibus, Johanne de Treuger, Willm̃o de Leghe, Roberto Grande loce, Nichō Poddynger, Ricardo Rogger de Exe, et aliis. Datum apud bename die Martis proxima post festum sancti Ambrosii, anno regni regis Edvardi

One year only is missing, 1550. It would be almost waste of space to extract all such entries as the following: "Item, paid for ij processionalles, ij.*s.* iiij.*d.*" (1526.) In the same year, "Item, p^{d}. for a manuele, ij.*s.*"—(1535.) "Item, p^{d}. for a newe manuele book, ij.*s.* Item, p^{d}. for a newe processionale book, xx.*d.*" —(1539.) "Item, p^{d}. mendyng of a masbocke, iij.*s.* iiij.*d.*"[39]—(1547.) "Item, p^{d}. for a manuele boock,

tertii a conquestu Angliæ quadragesimo sexto." A.D. 1373. The seal is attached. The remains of a moated house still exist at Binhamy, about a mile from the town of Stratton.

Not many deeds of the same kind are extant, of so late a date; one is preserved in the British museum, a manumission of a bondman, by an abbot of St. John's, Colchester, in the ninth year of king Henry the fourth, A.D. 1407.

[39] There is no record of the purchase of a new missal in the accounts which remain, but from the sum here paid for the repairing of one we may suppose that these volumes were of a large size even for the use of parish churches, and therefore very carefully preserved.

"Two masbookes, one old writen, and the oder print," which belonged to Kilburn nunnery were priced by the commissioners of Henry, the two at "xx.*d.*" *Monasticon Anglic.* 3. 425. We must not however take this as a safe guide, for the valuers in very many instances were also the purchasers, and thus not only robbed God but their king.

Among the manuscripts in the library of Exeter cathedral is an inventory of the year 1327, which has escaped (if I mistake not) the notice of the last editors of the *Monasticon.* It contains very curious matter; and much to our present purpose, not only a list of service books then in the cathedral but a valuation of them. I shall extract some items:—

"Missalia .xiv." of which the tenth, "absque epistolis et evangeliis, de usu ignoto," is priced "x.*s.*"

"Item, unum missale novum sine ep. et evang., pr. xl.*s.*

"Unum manuale de usu ignoto, pret. vj.*d.*

"Item unum portiforium vetus notatum, pret. xl.*s.*

"Item aliud portiforium de dono M. decani, pret. vi. marc.

"Item unum manuale bonum, pret. xx.*s.*

"Duo martyrologe quorum

xxij.*d.*"—(1554.) "Item, p^d^. for a processional and a whole manuell, vij.*s.*"[40]

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unum, pret. iiij.*s.*, et aliud xij.*d.*

"Item quinque collectaria quorum, j. pret. iiij.*s.* et iiij. pret. iiij.*s.* quia non sunt in usu.

"Item placebo, dirige cum sepultura mortuorum in duobus voluminibus, pret. ii.*s.*"

What would we not now give for these volumes "de usu ignoto"? Is it impossible that some one might have decided the Use of the earlier English church?

[40] There are other entries about books, of no little interest; for example: (1541.) "Item, paid for the bybyll, vi.*s.* vi.*d.*" (1542.) "Item, pd. for a chayne for the bybyll, iij.*d.* ob." (1548.) "Item, pd. to Roger Yeo for a book of the pystels and godspels, viij.*d.*" (1549.) "Item, pd. for lacyng of the communyon boke, ij.*d.*" There is no record of the purchase of this, the first common Prayer book of Edward the sixth, for such it must have been: *the Order of Communion* was too small a book, and would scarcely have reached so far west in the short time of its continuance. (I leave the above sentence, with some hesitation, as it was in the first edition. I am now rather disposed to think that the *Order of communion* of 1548 is the book spoken of. Being a thin quarto of two or three sheets, "lacing" would be required for its preservation, and "ij.*d.*" a reasonable price.) "Item, pd. to John Trevelyan for iij new books notyd for matens and evensong yn ynglyssh, xvi.*d.*" This is a most important entry, and would appear to relate to the publication by John Merbecke; but there is no edition known of that book earlier than 1550. Was there an edition of which no copy is extant in 1549, by him or by some other hand? (1553.) "Item, pd. for the communion boke, iiij.*s.* iiij.*d.*" This was the second book of king Edward the sixth. The charge must have included the carriage of the book; the highest price allowed according to the proclamation being "foure shillinges, and not aboue:" from a copy of Grafton's edition, fol., in my possession (1846). In 1559 occurs an item, "expenses for John Inde to bring a communion boke from Exeter, xvi.*d.*" This was queen Elizabeth's book, and immediately after is, "Item, pd. for boke of iniunction, j.*d.*;" and "payd unto Wyllyam Wyll for a sauter boke, xx.*d.*"

CHAPTER III.

I SHALL now attempt to give some account of the contents of the service books, the names of which we have met with. And first, those which occur in the last-cited statute of archbishop Winchelsey demand our attention because they were the books which the parishioners were bound, as we have seen, to furnish: and others may be looked upon either as essential to the performance of duties higher in degree if not in kind than those which concerned the parish-priest, or as intended only for the more solemn worship performed in the choirs of abbeys and cathedrals. There is no reason why we should not follow the order in which they are given in the statute.

The Legenda, as Lyndwood[41] tells us, was the book in which were written the lections to be read "in officiis matutinis," at the matin offices. These sometimes were taken from the prophets, as for example from Isaiah in advent with some exceptions, as at second nocturns on the sundays during advent and certain solemnities of the same season. Sometimes

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[41] Lib. iij. tit. 27, Ut parochiani, *verb.* Legendam. The "legend" was ordered to be provided by the churchwardens of St. Helen's, Abingdon, so late as the year 1555. See *Archæologia*, vol. 1. p. 11.

We shall have to refer to Lyndwood, our best known English canonist, many times in these volumes. There are two documents relating to him in the *Concilia:* one a licence to preach, tom 3. p. 389; the other, a recommendation to the next vacancy of the see of Hereford, *ibid.* p. 532.

the lections were taken from the epistles of St. Paul, as from the first sunday after the octave of the epiphany to septuagesima, on which day the three first were from the book of Genesis. In Lent were read portions of the homilies of St. John Chrysostom and pope Leo, and other fathers, together with a continuation of the books of Genesis and Exodus. On Passion sunday the first lections were from Jeremiah, and in the week within the octave of the Ascension from the Acts of the apostles. On the first sunday after Trinity the Histories [42] as they were called began, which regulated the succeeding lections: thus, during the history "Peto Domine," the book of Tobias was read: during "Adonai" the book of Judith: and so on. The above shows generally the character of the lections: certain great festivals interrupted the usual course, which was composed not only from the holy scriptures but from homilies and lives of the saints. Upon All-souls' day all nine lections were taken from the book of Job.

The legenda as thus explained by Lyndwood comprehends an arrangement of the six books mentioned by Durandus and Ducange; viz. the legendarius, the lectionarius, and the sermologus; the passionarius, the homiliarius, and the bibliotheca.

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[42] "Historiæ dicuntur scriptoribus de offic. divinis lectiones, desumptæ ex libris historicis veteris Testamenti, et aliis, quæ in ecclesia statis diebus recitantur." Ducange. And again: "Istoria, de responsoriis post lectiones decantandis dicitur in veteri cærimoniali MS. B. M. deauratæ." More correctly Gerbert: "Antiphonæ vel ex scripturis, vel ex sanctorum actis compositæ vocari solebant historia." *De cantu et musica sacra*, tom. i. p. 573.

The first of these as a distinct book contained the acts of the saints arranged for the yearly reading: "per anni totius circulum."[43] Durand's words are: "Legendarius vocatur liber ille, ubi agitur de vita et obitu confessorum, ut Hilarii, Martini, et aliorum confessorum, et legitur in festis eorum, dum tamen authenticatus sit."[44] The second contained the lections only from the Scriptures, and in another sense the epistles which were read at mass;[45] the third, the *Sermologus*, the sermons of the popes and other fathers;[46] the *Passionarius*, as its name imports, the passions of the martyrs; the *Homiliarius*, the homilies of the fathers; and lastly the *Bibliotheca*, the bible: "bibliorum liber, seu utrumque Testamentum, vetus et novum;"[47] "Volumen ex omnibus libris veteris et novi Testamenti a Hieronymo compositum."[48]

In the exchequer chamber of the cathedral of Exeter a noble manuscript legenda given by bishop Grandisson is still preserved.[49] This is in two volumes, large folio, on vellum: the leaves not

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[43] Ducange, *Glossarium*.

[44] *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, lib. vi. cap. 1. 30.

[45] Ducange and Durandus. These two sorts of lectionaries must not be confounded; the second will more properly be noticed under *Epistolarium*.

[46] Durandus, lib. vi. cap. i. 32. I have seen a manuscript (one volume only out of four) of about the end of the thirteenth century, which was a sermologus. At the beginning was a table of the contents of the first two volumes; the *pars hiemalis*: "Incipiunt capitula sermonum sanctorum catholicorum patrum, qui in hoc volumine continentur."

[47] Ducange. Sometimes by this title the four gospels only are meant; as in the life of Wilfrid archbishop of York, cited by Georgius, tom. 2. cxxxiv.

[48] Durandus, lib. vi. cap. 1. 27.

[49] Consecrated A.D. 1327, died A.D. 1369, and was buried in his own cathedral; Le Neve, *Fasti Ecc. Anglic.*

foliated, neither is there a calendar. Both volumes have the bishop's autograph on the margin of the first page. In the first it has been partly destroyed by damp, and there can now only be read, "Ego, I. . . . istum, cum suo pari . . . anno consecrationis meæ .xxxix. In festo annuntiationis dominicæ, manu mea." But in the second we have it perfect: "Ego, I. de G. Exon. do ecclesiæ Exon. librum istum, cum pari suo manu mea."[50]

The title, if it may be so styled, of these volumes fully expresses their contents and completely answers to Lyndwood's description of the legenda: "Incipit legenda de usu Exoniensis ecclīē, secundum ordinationem et abbreviationem Johīs de Grandissono epī. Et dividitur in tres partes. Prima pars: continet quidquid legitur de biblia. In qua fiunt saltus non mutato textu bibliæ. Ut quia omnia non possunt legi: saltem illa legantur quæ magis tempori correspondent. Secunda pars continet sermones et omelias: quæ pertinent ad temporale cum lectionibus bē marie, et dedicationis ecclīē: cum oct: et collacāconum quadragesimalium: necnon lectionum post primam in capitulo. Tertia pars in alio volumine continet lectiones proprias sc̄orum, de quibus fit in usu Exo[ni]. cum com̃ scōr et lec̄. de commemorationibus apostolorum petri et pauli et legenda quorundam: de quibus fit in eccliā exon. tantum. Dominica prima adventus dñi. lectio prima. ℭ Visio ysaie: filii amos," &c.[51]

Among the Lambeth manuscripts there is an

[50] Another very interesting autograph of bishop Grandisson is in the Cotton MS. Claud. A. xj. fol. 161. See also Ellis, *Original letters*, 3rd series, 1. 18.

[51] This legenda is being printed at the present time (1881).

English lectionary, not so full however as the above of bishop Grandisson, nº. 86 in the catalogue of that collection. In the British museum there are several of various dates: the Lansdown MS. appendix xxiij, for example, which contains the lections of the canonical hours. In the same collection, nº. 2889 though so called is not a lectionary; but an epistolarium, having only the epistles read at mass. This is a most noble manuscript, and in the middle, occupying four folios, is the full order of the service on some certain saints' days; i. e. the first words of the introit, epistle, gradual, &c. (as the case may be), gospel, offertory, and communion. At the end, whence possibly the mistake in the catalogue, are the lections of the office of the dead. These are a clear addition to the original book and begin, "Quando celebramus diem fratrum defunctorum."

The legenda of Salisbury use was printed in 1518, in folio: a copy is in the Bodleian library. The title is, "Legende totius anni tam de tempore quam de sanctis secundum ordinem Sarum;" and the colophon, "Legende festivitatum tam temporalium quam sanctorum per totum annum secundum ordinationem ecclesie Sarum."[52]

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[52] In Gutch, *Collectanea curiosa*, vol. 2. no. x, is a short account of old English service books, written by Lewis, the editor of Wicklif's Testament, &c. I did not include it above, as I was extracting from those authors only usually appealed to. Of the value of it the reader may judge from the fact that Lewis explains the *legenda* or *lectionary* to be the same as Capgrave's *Legenda nova* and the famous *Golden legend*.

A list of English service books drawn up in 1850 mentions a Sarum legenda, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516. There is no such book. The

The antiphonarium, says Lyndwood, is so named from its containing the antiphons which were sung at the canonical hours, arranged properly under the respective hours and days. Such doubtless originally were the whole contents of the book, but as time went on it gradually collected other portions of the Divine Office, and we generally now find in the old antiphoners not only the antiphons but, as Lyndwood goes on to explain, the invitatories, hymns, responses, verses, and little chapters (*capitula*). Some copies have more, some less of these additions: the antiphonarium did not cease to be properly so called whether it contained them or omitted them.

A question may be raised how far parishes were bound under Winchelsey's constitution to provide the antiphonarium in its strict and more limited sense, or according to the full meaning which the gloss gives to the word. This, at any rate, is clear: the object was to enforce the proper supply of books which, whether in separate volumes under the titles of responsonarium and capitulare and hymnarium and the rest, or in one collected, should contain all things necessary as far as books were concerned to the due performance of divine worship.

Lyndwood's account of the complete antiphonarium, if we may so call it, is far more comprehensive than Durand's: and it would appear that in the intermediate century and a half the character of the book had continued progressively to change from its

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compiler was in like manner misled by the title, or rather the colophon: "Nova legenda Angliæ," by Capgrave; a new "Golden legend" of English saints.

original. Durand also explains why nevertheless it was still called by its old title: "Antiphonarius a digniori, videlicet ab antiphonis nomen sumpsit, quas beatus Ignatius patriarcha audivit per angelos decantari, cum tamen ibi sint responsoria atque versus." And he continues, as if to show us the impossibility of arriving at any distinct definition of the volume even in his time, "in plerisque tamen locis liber iste responsonarium, a responsoriis, quæ ibidem continentur, appellatur."[53]

But a very important author who flourished four hundred years before Durand, viz. Amalarius bishop of Treves, testifies to the confusion of titles and alteration of contents in his age also. For it would appear not only that the antiphonaria of his diocese included the antiphons of the mass, but that the old division was still observed in some places. I confess I do not see clearly whether he does include the gradale in the antiphonarium. His words are: "Notandum est, volumen quod nos vocamus antiphonarium, tria habere nomina apud Romanos. Quod dicimus gradale, illi vocant cantatorium," (here I believe Amalarius is speaking of a totally distinct book though it was bound up in the volume with the other two parts,) "qui adhuc juxta morem antiquum apud illos in aliquibus ecclesiis in uno volumine continetur. Sequentem partem dividunt in duobus nominibus: pars quæ continet responsorios, vocatur responsoriale: et pars quæ continet antiphonas, vocatur antiphonarius." He continues, surely distinguishing the gradual: "Ego secutus sum nostrum usum, et posui mixtim responsoria et anti-

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[53] *Rationale*, lib. vi. cap. I. 24.

phonas secundum ordinem temporum, in quibus solemnitates nostræ celebrantur."[54] The same author soon after speaking of an antiphoner famous in his time, at Metz, gives the title "Incipit responsoriale de circulo anni," &c.

The Gradale of Amalarius must mean the arrangement of the introits and antiphons of the mass, which likewise anciently was sometimes called an antiphonarium, as by John the deacon in his life of Gregory the great. In this sense of antiphons the introits are to be understood in the canon of the council of Agda in France, A. D. 506: "Studendum est ut, sicut ubique fit, et post antiphonas collectiones ab episcopis vel presbyteris dicantur." [55]

The two MSS. edited by Thomasius [56] contain the antiphons and responses only, of the canonical hours, arranged. We may look upon this as the second state of the antiphonarium, when it might be called either that or responsoriale. In Lyndwood's time when, as we have seen, so many other portions of the Divine office were added, not separately but arranged, antiphonarium became the general title for the whole. Such, for example, as the "antiphonarium cum psalterio et hymnario et canticis" given by abbot Godfrey to his monastery.[57]

The late earl of Shrewsbury possessed a most magnificent English antiphoner, a folio manuscript

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[54] Amalarius, *de ordine antiphonarii:* prolog. Precisely such an antiphonarium as he describes was sent by pope Hadrian to Charlemagne: a single volume; divided into three parts.

[55] Ducange, *Glossarium, verb.* Antiphonarium. Such was the book published by Pamelius, tom. 2. See also Mabillon, *de lit. Gall.* lib. 1. cap. 5. 2.

[56] *Opera*, tom. 4.

[57] Walter de Whitleseye, p. 170.

of the fifteenth century, which I have myself cursorily examined: and the following is an abstract of a part of its contents.[58] This is the Office for the first sunday in Lent, and more than any other description will give the reader a just notion of the antiphoner as it usually was in that age.

Dominica prima quadragesimæ: ad .I. vesperas. an. Benedictus. *ps. In psalterium. cap.* Hortamur. *resp.* Emendemus. *hymnus.* Ex more docti: with the music under the words of the first strophe. *vers.* Angelis. *resp.* Ut custodiant. *ant.* Ecce nunc: noted throughout. *ps.* Magnificat: with the notation under that word. *oratio.* Deus qui ecclesiam. *ad complet. ant.* Signatum est: with the notation throughout. *ps.* Cum invocarem: with the intonation. *cap.* Tu in nobis. *Clericus de secunda forma, habitu non mutato nec loco, scilicet ad altare conversus dicat. resp.* In pace: noted. *Chorus prosequatur hoc modo,* In idipsum, &c.: noted throughout. *Clericus. vers.* Si dedero, &c.: noted throughout. *Chorus prosequatur,* Dormitationem. *Clericus. vers.* Gloria Patri: noted. *Chorus prosequatur,* In pace: noted. *hymnus.* Christe, qui lux es: noted. *vers.* Custodi. *antiph.* Cum videris: noted throughout. *ps.* Nunc dimittis: with the intonation.

Ad matutinas. invit. Non sit nobis: with the music. *ps.* Venite: with the intonation. *hymn.* Summi largitor. The first strophe noted.

In primo nocturno. ant. Servite. *ps.* Beatus vir. *vers.* Dicet Domino. *resp.* Susceptor. *tres primæ*

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[58] For this abstract I was indebted to the late very reverend Dr. Rock.

lect. de sermone Leonis, papæ. *legatur lect.* 1. Licet nobis. *resp.* Ecce nunc tempus: noted throughout. *resp.* In omnibus: noted. *resp.* Emendemus: noted.

In secundo nocturno. ant. Bonorum. *ps.* Conserva. *vers.* Ipse. *resp.* De laqueo. *resp.* Paradisi. *resp.* Scindite. *et resp.* Abscondite.

In tertio nocturno. antiph. Receptum. *ps.* Cœli enarrant. *vers.* Scapulis. *resp.* Et lux. *evang. secundum Mattheum.* In illo tempore, ductus est. *omelia B. Gregorii papæ.* Dubitari. *resp.* In jejunio: noted. *resp.* Tribularer: with the notation. *resp.* Ductus est Jesus: noted. *vers.* Ipse liberavit. *resp.* De laqueo.

In laudibus. antiph. Cor mundum: noted. *ps.* Miserere: with the intonation. *ant.* Domine salvum: noted. *ps.* Confitemini: with its intonation. *antiph.* Sic benedicam: with the notation. *ps.* Deus, Deus: with its intonation. *antiph.* In Spiritu: noted. *ps.* Benedicite: with its intonation. *antiph.* Laudate: noted. *ps.* Laudate: with its intonation.

Cap. Hortamur. *hymn.* Audi: with notes to the first strophe. *vers.* Scuto. *resp.* Non timebis. *antiph.* Ductus est: noted throughout. *ps.* Benedictus. *oratio.* Deus qui ecclesiam.

Ad primam. antiph. Jesus autem: noted throughout. *ps.* Deus, Deus: with its intonation.

Ad tertiam. antiph. Non in solo pane: noted. *ps.* Legem pone: with its intonation. *cap.* Hortamur. *Clericus de secunda forma incipiat resp. sic.* Participem: noted. *Chorus prosequatur:* me fac: noted. *Clericus dicat vers.* Aspice: noted.

Ad sextam. antiph. Tunc assumpsit: noted.

ps. Defecit: with its intonation. *cap.* Ecce nunc. *resp.* Ab omni: noted. *Chorus prosequatur:* mala: noted. *vers.* Ipse liberavit.

Ad nonam. antiph. Vade Sathana: noted. *ps.* Mirabilia: with its intonation. *cap.* In omnibus. *resp.* Declara: noted. *Chorus prosequatur. vers.* Super nos: noted.

Ad vesperas. antiph. Sede a dextris. *ps.* Dixit Dominus. *cap.* Hortamur. *Clericus de secunda forma, habitu non mutato nec loco mutato, conversus ad altare incipiat resp.* Esto nobis: noted. *Chorus prosequatur. vers.* A facie: noted. *hymnus.* Ex more docti. *vers.* Angelis suis. *antiph.* Reliquit: noted. *ps.* Magnificat: with its intonation. *oratio.* Deus qui ecclesiam.

With the psalter the tones of the psalms are given, and in the service for the first sunday in Advent all the chants for the usual parts of the choir service; such as the intonations for the "Deus in adjutorium," the "Dominus vobiscum," the collect, little chapter, "Benedicamus," &c. It is evident that this volume was for the use of some great religious establishment: and with it generally agrees a folio antiphoner now lying before me [1846]; a fine manuscript of the fourteenth century but not quite perfect, which belonged formerly to the cathedral of Norwich. This manuscript is now in the British museum.[59]

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[59] Since the publication of the first edition of this book a printed copy of a Salisbury antiphoner has been obtained by the British museum. The book itself is a superb example of early typography. It is in two volumes, folio; one of which is upon vellum. The title of this is, *Antiphonale ad usum ecclesiæ Sarum politissimis imaginibus decoratum*, Paris, 1519. The

The antiphoner is of common occurrence in ancient inventories of church furniture and ornaments, in wills, and in catalogues of books. I shall mention two from parish churchwardens' accounts. In one, of St. Mary Hill, London, they are called "antiphors;" and in another, of Heybridge, a still more queer word is used: "item, a antysyphonar."[60] In the same collection (if we may trust the correctness of the transcript, which I much doubt in this case) we have in the accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, for 1475: "Item, for ij great books, called antiphoners, £22." The sum paid for these seems very great. In 1495 Cecily duchess of York gives "to the colege of saint Antonies in London an antiphoner with the ruelles of musick in the later ynd."[61]

Very much of what has been said of the antiphoner will apply to the next book ordered in the constitution of archbishop Winchelsey, the Gradale.

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second volume has, *Antiphonarii ad usum Sarum volumen secundum vulgo pars estivalis nuncupata*, 1520. Both are printed by Byrckman, to be sold in London at St. Paul's churchyard.

The volume upon vellum is not quite perfect; and came from the library of the college at Ushaw near Durham. The second volume, on paper, was found about the year 1854 with a number of other books, in a loft over a stable in St. John's Wood, London.

From these books some fragments of the same edition have been identified at Cambridge in the university library, but it is believed that no other edition is known, nor any other portions of this edition.

A fragment of an antiphonarium of English use is in the library of the dean and chapter of Durham, bound in one volume with some homilies; B. 111. xj. folio. This is of the twelfth or early thirteenth century. The notation is of the ancient character; and some lections are mixed with the antiphons and responses.

[60] Nichols, *Churchwardens' accompts*, pp. 105, 175.

[61] From her will in Doctors' Commons.

Under a title which strictly applies only to the graduals, the gradale or graduale contained not the graduals only but other portions of the service of the holy eucharist; and with respect to that held the same place which the other book did as regarded the Divine office or canonical hours. Lyndwood's gloss upon the word is, "*Gradale*, sic dictum a gradalibus in tali libro contentis. Stricte tamen ponitur *gradale* pro eo quod gradatim ponitur post epistolam: hic tamen ponitur pro libro integro, in quo contineri debent officium aspersionis aquæ benedictæ, missarum inchoationes, sive officia, kyrie, cum versibus, gloria in excelsis, gradalia, halleluja, et tractus, sequentiæ, symbolum cantandum in missa, offertoria, sanctus, agnus, communio, &c., quæ ad chorum spectant in missæ solennis decantatione." With this description a manuscript gradual "secundum usum Sarum," large folio, in my possession, exactly corresponds; as do also two printed editions of the gradual in the Bodleian library; both folio, and by the same printer, Nicholas Prevost at Paris: but one is of 1527, the other 1532.[62]

It certainly is not easy, if it be possible, to lay down express signs by which the antiphoner and gradual are always to be distinguished. As a general rule the one belonged to the service of the hours, the Divine or canonical office, the other to the mass: the latter may be properly called an anti-

[62] Since the first edition of this book, a magnificent printed gradual has been bought for the British museum: *Graduale ad usum ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis*, folio; printed at Paris by Regnault, for Robert Redman of London, 1532. The gradual is the grayel, graiel, greyle, &c. of English monastic inventories, wills, churchwarden's accounts, and other documents.

phoner,[63] the first never a gradual. Or let us remember two observations of the very learned Gerbert: speaking of the one he says, "Ad distinctionem hujus libri antiphonarii, eum, qui cantum missæ continet, gradualem esse vocatum jam notavimus;" and soon after, "Uti vero graduale usu respondet sacramentario seu missali, ita antiphonarium seu responsale breviario."[64] Ingulphus has a remarkable passage much to the point. After Croyland abbey was burnt he went into the choir, and there (he says) "reperimus omnes libros officii Divini tam antiphonaria quam gradalia deperisse."[65] He uses the term *officium Divinum* in its fullest acceptation.

Both these books, the antiphoner and the gradual, contained those portions of the services to which they respectively appertained which were sung, if sung at all, antiphonically, "antiphono cantu;" and were intended chiefly for the use of choirs. Hence, they came to be known generally as "pricksong books." In 1530 archbishop Warham leaves all the "prickesong bookes" belonging to his chapel to the library of St. Mary's college in Oxford; his other "grayles" and "antiphonalia" to the college at Winchester.[66] But such was not necessarily the case with the gradual, as may be collected from Zaccaria:[67] and I have considerable doubts

[63] In the *Ramsay catalogue* (Cotton rolls, xi. 16) occurs, "Duo antiphonaria in uno volumine." This probably means only, in stricter terms, a gradual and an antiphoner.

[64] *De cantu*, tom. 1. pp. 573, 576.

[65] *Historia Croylandensis*, p. 97, edit. Oxon. 1684. The abbey was burnt in the year 1091.

[66] From his will in Doctors' Commons.

[67] Lib. 1. cap. iv. 6.

whether in the thirteenth century it was otherwise with the antiphoner. Archbishop Winchelsey's statute seems to intend by antiphoner all those portions of what was even before his time called the breviary, which were not contained in the psalter and legenda. Otherwise the service of the Hours was not provided for. Nor is it to be forgotten that a manuscript in the monastery of St. Gall, edited in part by Thomasius [68] and later in all probability than the twelfth century, has the title "Incipit *Officialis* liber;" to which he appends the following significant note: "Vide heic officialem librum appellari eum librum, qui alias antiphonarius dicitur." And in the inventory of St. Paul's church, made in 1295, we find several antiphonaria of which some only have the addition "notatum."[69] The constitution must either therefore, as it appears to me, mean this, or was to be obeyed with regard to these books in the case of parishes only where there was choral service: in which case it was the part of the parishioners to furnish the gradual and the antiphoner, which of course would contain the notation. The priest would provide, in this view, his breviary. How far this may be allowed in the face of the first words, "Ut parochiani ecclesiarum singularum nostræ provinciæ," I leave to others to decide: but, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, it is not decided in the commentary by Lyndwood, though he says the antiphoner "non solum continebit antiphonas, sed etiam invitatoria, &c., et alia quæ pertinent ad decantationem horarum canonicarum."[70]

[68] *Opera*, tom. iv. p. 342.

[69] Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, p. 218.

[70] There are councils which meet both the cases supposed in

The Psalterium, as Lyndwood tells us, was the book in which the psalms were contained. This with the legenda and antiphoner would make up the entire breviary, if, as we have just seen, the latter was intended to include all the other portions of the Divine office.

The psalter as a separate book according to the use of particular churches contained the book of psalms divided into certain portions for matins and the hours, so as to be gone through in the course of the week. This arrangement was not exactly according to the psalter which is to be found in the breviaries, at least it is not so in three editions now before me.[71] These only in the general disposition agree with the breviary, as may be seen by the following abstract, which includes the whole psalter without alteration in its numerical order :—[72]

On sundays at matins and prime, from ps. i to xxv, inclusive. At matins on the second day, ps. xxvj–xxxvij. The third day, ps. xxxviij–li. The fourth day, ps. lij–lxvij. The fifth day, ps. lxviij–

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the text; which order generally that all churches should have "libros honestos, ad psallendum et legendum idoneos." *Concilium Dunelmense*, A. D. 1220, Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. I. 580. And shortly after, a council at Oxford, A.D. 1222, made a similar canon, the eleventh. Compare also the canon of the council of Chichester, cited before, p. xx.

[71] *Psalterium secundum usum Sarum et Ebor.*, 4to. Paris, F. Byrckman, 1516. Another, small 8vo. Antwerp., Chr. Ruremunden. Venundantur Londonii apud Petrum Kaetz, 1524. Another, 24mo. Wants the title: no colophon: first year in the calendar, 1529; by which date it is cited in the text. These in my possession [1846].

[72] This is taken from the edition of 1516, in quarto, by Byrckman.

lxxix. The sixth day, ps. lxxx–xcvi. The sabbath, ps. xcvij–cviij. Sundays at vespers, ps. cix–cxiij. Second day at vespers, ps. cxiv–cxvij. At prime, ps. cxviij. At tierce, cxviij continued. At sext, cxviij continued. At the ninth hour, cxviij concluded, and ps. cxix and cxx. Third day at vespers, ps. cxxi–cxxv. The fourth day, ps. cxxvi–cxxx. Fifth day, ps. cxxxi–cxxxvi. Sixth day, ps. cxxxvij–cxlij. The sabbath, ps. cxliij–cl.

The three psalters cited above are all not only of the use of Salisbury but also of York, as the full title of one has it:[73] "Psalterium cum hymnis ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Sarum et Eboracensis. Opusculum quidem non solum ad ecclesiasticum observandum ritum, tum et cuilibet divino eloquio insudanti apprime commodum et necessarium." The three differ in this respect; the edition of 1516, as the abstract of the arrangement shows, attaches the psalms cxviij–cxx to the hours of the second day, without any further direction: that of 1524 explains that they are intended not for that only but every week-day; adding the running title "ferialibus diebus:" and that of 1529 attaches them "dominicis diebus." The second direction is the proper one, and the omission of the first and the error of the last would easily be corrected by the known practice of the day.

The three editions differ in another point: that of 1529 gives the psalter only; 1516, the antiphons; and 1524 not only the antiphons but the notation of the first words of them, and some of the verses and responses.

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[73] Edition of 1524.

The reader will observe in the title just quoted that the hymns are added: this is the same in these three editions, and they generally are so. They are arranged for the different days and festivals upon which they are appointed. Being according to the use of York as well as Sarum they give a conclusion of the hymn "Alma chorus" as it was sung in the former church: and the two editions of 1516 and 1529 add also at the end "Hymni secundum usum Eboracensem qui non sunt in usu Sarum."

But besides the hymns are included the canticles, or, as they are called in the edition 1529, "psalmi consueti." And, following these, before the hymns, are the litany; vespers, and vigils of the dead; and some prayers to be said before and after the recital of the psalter.[74]

The next book mentioned in the constitution of the archbishop is the Troperium: which strictly would of course contain only the tropes. The tropi were one or more verses, sung either before or after the introit and hymns in the service of high mass, and sometimes in the middle of them.[75] Georgius, from Ducange, declares them to have been intimately connected with the introit;[76] and Durand, that they are called "tropi, quia prius canitur

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[74] *Psalterium glossatum* is a common book in the inventories of monasteries. In A.D. 1481 the famous Sir Thomas Lyttelton bequeathed his "gloset-saulter to the priorie of Worcester." *Testamenta vetusta*, vol. 1. 367. Again of St. Richard, bishop of Chichester, 1253: "To the friars minor of Chichester, my psalter glosed." *Ibid.* 761.

[75] Gerbert, *de cantu et musica sacra*, tom. 1. 340.

[76] *De liturgia Rom. pontificis*, tom. 2. cxcv.

versus, ac postea *eleison:* et iterum versus, et *eleison* deinde."[77] Cardinal Bona says that he could find no trace of them before the year 1000;[78] with whom Georgius agrees: and there is no doubt that they were first introduced by the monks about that period, and were soon adopted into the service of cathedral and parochial churches. They quickly increased in number until, by the time Durand wrote, the book in which they were contained was called, as in the constitution, troperium, or troponarium, or troparium. But from what Lyndwood tells us in his note upon the word, "i.e. librum sequentiarum; et hoc necessarium est, quando sequentiæ non habentur in gradalibus," the main contents of the volume in his day were the sequences. It is clear that if the gradual contained these parts also of the service, as it usually did, the troperium would not separately be required.

I have not met with nor heard of a printed troperium of any English use: there is a very fine manuscript so called in the Bodleian library. It is worth remarking that in the disputes between St. Thomas of Canterbury and king Henry, one wrong charged

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[77] Lib. iv. cap. v.

[78] Lib. 11; *Rer. liturg.* cap. 3. But this date must be extended to an earlier year: Gerbert states that at Rome might be seen manuscripts earlier than the eleventh century, containing tropes. Some have ventured to attribute the composition of many of them, even if not also their origin, to Alcuin; but with no proof. We shall find presently that about A.D. 1050 the word was in use in England. It is probable that the tropes were introduced into the liturgies about the year 900, and they were removed altogether from the Roman missal at its last revision, in the pontificate of Pius the fifth. At the same time also the sequences, except four, were removed, and for the same reason.

against the archbishop was that he would not allow a cause to be removed from his court, though the plaintiff had sworn that justice was not done him: the reply was that the plaintiff had tried to evade the oath: which he had taken not upon the four gospels, according to the laws, but "upon a troper or book of old church hymns."[79]

From Lyndwood's explanation of the word I rather suppose that by troperium in the statute was meant what was sometimes and more properly called the sequentialis, or sequentiarius. Such must certainly have been the troperia in the church of St. Paul, one of which, the earliest, belonged to Ralph de Diceto: "in cujus initio" says the inventory "notantur omnes sequentiæ, et fine ponuntur omnes epistolæ farcitæ." If tropes were introduced only in the eleventh century, few could have been composed by the time of dean Ralph who flourished towards the end of the twelfth, according to Le Neve. The inventory continues: "Item troperium . . . . cujus ultima sequentia est sine custodia *laudes crucis.*"[80]

So Matthew Paris[81] must have used the word, when he states that Paul abbot of St. Alban's, who died A. D. 1093, caused troparia to be written amongst other service books, in the new scriptorium which he had built. On the other hand more than twenty years before this, Leofric bishop of Exeter

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[79] Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. 1. 354. Compare also Hoveden, *Annals*, p. 283; and Lye, *Anglo-saxon d ct., verb.* Tropere: "'Attulit in curia mea quendam *toper* et juravit super illum:' ubi legendum *troper*, scil. *librum hymnorum.*"

[80] Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, p. 220.

[81] p. 1003; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 2. 183.

gave to his cathedral church a large collection of books, of which a list is still extant at the beginning of his famous missal in the Bodleian: among which is i. ꞇꞃopeꞃe, one troperium.[82]

But so far as the authority of a particular copy reaches the question is much enlightened by the troperium already mentioned, in the Bodleian library, and of which a brief account seems not out of place. It is a very fine manuscript folio. Some kyries and hymns are written upon a few leaves at the beginning, after which comes the title, "Incipiunt tropi de adventu domini nostri Jesu Christi." Then follow not only the tropes but the other parts of the liturgy which were sung, for every day of the year: in some cases at length, but generally only the first few words of them; viz. of the graduals, tracts, alleluias, verses, offertories, and communions. Each has its intonation between every line. After these are the "gloria in excelsis," the "sanctus" and "agnus," with their interpolated tropes.

Succeeding these are the alleluias; as if a separate part of the volume: "Incipiunt alleluiæ per anni circulum." Then the tracts and offertories at length. Then we find:—

"Hic tibi cantori sunt cuncta sequentia præsto:
Quæ circulo annorum modulantur ordine pulchro."

These sequences are preceded by the alleluias. After them are the proses: "Incipiunt prosæ:" which

[82] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 2. 527. That book which belonged to an abbot of Peterborough would appear to have been a true troperium, entitled "Tropi magistri Petri cum diversis summis." *Monast. Anglic.* vol. 1. 354. In the Leicester abbey *registrum librorum* occurs, "Troporium in missali ad altare S. Stephani." Nicholls, *Leicestershire*, vol. 1. pt. 2. p. 101.

conclude the book, and are accompanied by a musical notation upon three lines.

This troperium is of an early date; not later than the year 1010. It contains a litany, in which king Æthelred is prayed for as the reigning monarch.

The troparium is a frequent item in the inventories of the parish churches of the diocese of Salisbury in the thirteenth century: both as a separate volume, and as a part of or bound up with some other service book. (See the appendix to this dissertation.) It is significant, on the other hand, that we do not find any notice of the sequentiarius.

The Ordinale was the book which regulated the whole duty of the canonical hours: to use Lyndwood's words, "i.e. librum, in quo ordinatur modus dicendi et solemnizandi officium Divinum." The priest by referring to this might learn, according to the dominical letter, what festivals he was to observe and the proper office appointed throughout the year, at least so far as any changes were concerned from the common office of the day. Thus, for example, the running title being "Quartum A xvij xiiij xi iij," he would find, for the second week in Lent, "¶ Dominica prima xl. tota dicatur historia. Fe. iiij. et sabbato dicatur resp. feriale." The ensuing week would be liable to greater alterations: "¶ Dominica .ij. xl. tota dicatur historia. Festum sancti Gregorii differatur in crastinum. Ad vesperas sancti Gregorii fiat solemnis memoria de dominica. Fe. .ij. de sancto Gregorio. Inferius duplex. Capitulum. Ecce sacerdos .ix. lec. sine expositione. Fer. v. dicatur primum resp. feriale et aliud in vi. fe.

Sabbato de sancto Edwardo .ix. lec. cap. beatus vir qui in sapientia. Resp. peccavi prætermittatur isto anno. Ad vesperas de dominica fiat memoria de sancto Edwardo." But, supposing the case thus, "Tertium D xviij xv xij vij iiij," then the course of his service would be altered: as "¶ Dominica prima xl totum de dominica. Fer. ij. de sancto Petro. ix. lec. Fer. iij. de sancto Matthia. Inferius duplex. Fer. iiij. et ceteris feriis per ebdomadam de jejunio, et in vi. fer. dicatur resp. feriale." And he would find that the festivals of St. Gregory and St. Edward would not occur until the fourth and fifth weeks of Lent.[83]

Hence, the days of the fixed festivals being known by the calendar usually prefixed to the other service books, the ordinale served as a perpetual guide and directory in so far as the year was affected by the moveable feasts: a matter of no little consequence, as it was not possible that in any two years the same course should occur, and an almost infinite variety of the daily offices would be the result.

It is by no means certain how early the want which must have been felt of such a directory was supplied. The famous passage in the *Polychronicon* of Ranulphus[84] is usually appealed to: speaking of Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, he says, "Hic quoque composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii, quem consuetudinarium vocant, quo fere nunc tota Anglia,

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[83] I quote from an edition in my possession, described below.

[84] That is, Ralph Higden. Cited by Ducange, *Glossarium*. Another chronicler, either adopting Higden's statement or using a common authority, has transcribed the same words; Hen. de Knyghton, *Chron. script. X.* tom. 2. p. 2352.

Wallia utitur, et Hibernia." But this could neither have been the first work of the kind nor at once have arrived at anything like completeness.

Other churches equally with that of Sarum would have had their ordinals, and these must of course have been affected by the number of saints to whom days were dedicated in their peculiar calendars: hence we learn that not only St. Osmund compiled such a work but the bishops also of other dioceses. This would not, except in the instances of festivals appointed in one church and not in another, prevent the adoption of any particular use. Therefore the breviary or the missal *secundum usum Sarum* might (to speak generally) be adopted in dioceses and countries where other ordinals were required; or the Sarum ordinal might be used, subject to a few alterations. Thus bishop Cantilupe of Worcester, in his synod held A. D. 1240, specifies the days which were to be observed in his diocese.[85] Bishop Grandisson of Exeter also drew up a very complete ordinal for the use of that diocese;[86] which is still existing and preserved in the cathedral library. The colophon is, "¶ Explicit ordinale secundum usum Exoniensem." I say that it is complete, because it not only regulates the services of the canonical hours but of the mass, and the order of processions. It was a text-book from whence all the portions which affected the parish churches of that diocese were to be copied.

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[85] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom I. 677.

[86] But in the inventory still preserved in that cathedral, a manuscript of 1506, we find besides two ordinals in use in the choir, "item j ordinale ad usum Sarum."

In the statutes of bishop Grandisson which, as founder, he approved for the regulation of his new collegiate church of St. Mary at Ottery, reference is more than once made to his ordinal, perhaps to the particular volume just mentioned. I select one of these: "7. Item statuimus quod tam canonici quam omnes alii quicumque inferiores ecclesiæ ministri officium divinum tam nocturnum quam diurnum in choro et in capella beatæ virginis debitis temporibus intrando, remanendo, et exeundo, secundum ordinale, et consuetudinarium quæ eis fecimus et extraximus ex Exoniæ et Sarum usibus, cum pausatione et punctuatione debitis exequantur."[87]

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[87] I shall have frequent occasion to refer to this body of statutes; they form one of the most important parts of an excellent work by the late Dr. Oliver, viz. *Monasticon diœcesis Exoniensis*. His own opinion of these statutes, with which I entirely agree, is: "For details and minute directions for conducting the church service, we believe the document to be more instructive and satisfactory than any other that has come to our notice." p. 261. The MS. ordinale, through the kindness of the dean and chapter of Exeter, is now lying before me [1846]; but I regret to say that I only obtained it too late to make use of it for the second edition of my work on the liturgies, which was already in the press; and I have been unhappily precluded, owing to another cause, from availing myself of some highly important matter in the consuetudinary of the church of Exeter, which forms the first part of the book. I mention this, not complaining, but simply to clear myself, if it may so be, from the charge that on the present occasion I have been able to give the reader so little of the contents of this noble monument of the English Church. As time goes on, the obstacle which now exists may happily be removed.

I may now [1882] say, that the dean and chapter at that time, fearing I know not what, fastened together a number of leaves which had reference (as was supposed) to their existing statutes, and laid me under a promise not to read them.

Bishop Grandisson, it appears from Le Neve in the preface to

These books abroad were usually styled Ordinaria:[88] and the one from which I have given extracts above seems to correspond with that mentioned by Ducange,[89] from a statute of a synod at Angers: "Statuimus quod in singulis ecclesiis liber, qui dicitur ordinarius, habeatur, quo sacerdotes respiciant singulis diebus ante vesperarum incœptionem, ut ipsas vesperas; matutinas, et officium diei sequentis faciant et exequantur, juxta ordinarii instructionem." Immediately after a charter is cited of the church of Abbeville, in which the term is applied to a book similar rather to the ordinal of bishop Grandisson: "In ecclesia etiam sit liber ordinarius ad modum ecclesiæ Ambian. in quo contineatur, quid et quando et quomodo cantandum sit vel legendum, chorus regendus, campanæ pulsandæ, luminare accendendum," &c.[90]

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his *Fasti*, p. vi, wrote a life of St. Thomas à Becket, a copy of which ought to be among the manuscripts of Canterbury.

[88] Sometimes in England called an "Ordeorly." Burney, *Hist. of music*, 2. 571.

[89] *Glossar.*, *verb.* Ordinarium.

[90] Zaccaria says: "Adde ordinem officii recitandi; *kalendarium* alii appellant; *ordinarium* alii, *ordo officii* antiquum nomen est. *Ad celebranda divina officia ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, provinciales observare debebunt* decretum est concilii Aurelianensis i. cap. xxviij... Non admodum ab ordine officii abludebat paullo amplior libellus, quem *carpsum* quasi carptum, decerptumque *Veronæ* vocabant, indicem nempe, preces, psalmos, antiphonas, ceteraque recensentem ad missæ divinorumque officiorum ordinem enuntiandum." *Bibl. ritualis*, lib. 1. cap. iv. 4. xiij. Le Brun confuses the ordinarium and consuetudinary: "Ordinarium, ante quingentos aut sexcentos annos ita dictus liber quidam fuit, qui id innuit, quod ad altare, vel in choro diebus singulis seu dici, seu fieri debet. Eidem in antiquis communitatibus id etiam additum est, quod generatim totius diei spatio servandum erat. Hac de causa liber a Cisterciensibus

The ordinale and the consuetudinarium are properly distinct books referring to matters of a different kind, and ought not to be confounded. Ducange seems to mix them, relying upon the passage quoted above from the *Polychronicon* when he explains the latter to be "ritualis liber, in quo officiorum divinorum ritus formulæque describuntur:" and goes on to add what is correct, "in quo consuetudines conventuales et monasticæ exaratæ sunt." Matthew Paris clearly distinguishes them in his account of the exertions of Paul, abbot of St. Alban's, to complete a set of service books.[91] Of the latter sort was the famous book of statutes or decrees drawn up by Lanfranc for the Benedictines:[92] St. Osmund compiled both an ordinal and a consuetudinary:[93] the constitutions, as they are called, for the church

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quidem *usus*, a Præmonstratensibus vero *liber consuetudinum* dictus fuit." *Explic. missæ*, præf. xxxiv.

[91] p. 1003; cited in *Monast. Anglic.* vol. 2. 183, note a. But Baruffaldus has made a most strange blunder with this very place of Matt. Paris, taking ordinale to be the same with what was in later days called the ritual; see his *Commentary*, tit. 1. cap. 1. 6. Such errors show however the difficulties which surround the enquiry in which we are engaged.

[92] *Opera*, edit. Benedict. 253.

[93] A statute of Ægidius bishop of Salisbury, 1256, thus refers to the consuetudinary: "Beati Osmundi prædecessoris nostri circa residentiam personarum et canonicorum Sarum ecclesiæ pias institutiones, quas pro cultu divini nominis ampliandas, et ecclesiæ Sarum honore, capituli sui accedente consensu, condidit, ac in scriptis redegit, per negligentiam duximus innovandas," &c. Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. 715. An excellent abstract of these statutes is given by Wilkins under the year 1259, supplied by the then dean and chapter of Salisbury to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of Glasgow; who, and it is a remarkable circumstance, had applied for information respecting the use and custom of the church of Sarum; *Concilia*, tom. i. 741.

of Lichfield, A. D. 1194, were a consuetudinary:[94] so also those of Lincoln, A. D. 1212,[95] and the "consuetudines abbatiæ Eveshamensis" drawn up by the abbot of that monastery about A. D. 1220:[96] and, to name no more, the volume above cited of bishop Grandisson contains at the beginning after the calendar, from fol. 7 to 13 *b*, the consuetudinary of the church of Exeter. Bishop Grandisson again accepts the difference between the two books in his statutes for the college of St. Mary at Ottery: "77. Item, statuimus quod ubicunque ordinale vel consuetudinarium vel statuta nostra non sufficiant forte in multis faciendis per totum annum, quod tunc recurratur ad ordinale et consuetudinarium Sarum."[97] To explain the distinction more fully I will give the heads of the chapters of the consuetudinary of Lichfield. The first relates to the general ceremonies to be observed by the members of the cathedral church in the celebration of the Divine offices, mass, chapter, &c.: "2. De personis in ecclesia Lich. constitutis. 3. De officio decani. 4. De officio cantoris. 5. De officio cancellarii. 6. De officio thesaurarii. 7. De modo pulsationum. 8. De dignitate ecclesiæ Lich. 9. De dignitate personarum. 10. De dignitate decani et canonicorum. 11. De dignitate quinque capellanorum. 12. Statutum domini Huberti, apostolicæ sedis legati."

There occur instances of the use of the term consuetudinarium in another sense: as, for example, the title of a manuscript in the augmentation office,

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[94] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 496.

[95] *Ibid.* p. 534.

[96] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 2. p. 27.

[97] *Monast. diœc. Exon.* p. 272.

"rentale et consuetudinarium de Bello." It relates merely to the estates of Battle abbey, as may be seen from the list of its contents in the *Monasticon*.[88]

Ordinals of English use are a frequent item in the monastic and church inventories, but now even in manuscript are very rare. There are several manuscript ordinals of Sarum use in the British museum, and one of Hereford, and a fragment of that of St. Edmund of Bury.[89] Another manuscript ordinal of Sarum is in the library of the dean and chapter of Salisbury; and also in that of Corpus Christi college at Oxford. At Lambeth is the ordinal of the abbey of Peterborough. There were several editions printed of the use of Salisbury but scarcely more than a single copy remains of each. Either, as being altogether ceremonial and containing an unreadable "pye," they excited the pious wrath of the king's visitors, and so were especially devoted to destruction; or, being usually written plainly without illuminations and with almost every word contracted, they were not preserved for the mere sake of their appearance, as certainly was the good fortune of some service books which escaped.[90]

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[88] Vol. 3. p. 237.

[89] This last contains the ordinal throughout the day, including the order of the liturgy; it is brief, but complete; and follows the arrangement of the calendar. The Hereford and Sarum ordinals also (alluded to in the text) do not, as in the printed editions, present an invariable rule but follow simply the calendar as it stood in the age in which they were compiled. At the end of one of the two of Sarum use is this entry: "Iste liber constat ecclesiæ de Rysbey in comitatu de Suffolke. Ordinale." Harleian MS. 1001. sæc. xiv.

[90] A curious illustration of the rapidity with which the utter forgetfulness of the contents of the old service books increased, and even the meaning of their

Caxton printed the ordinal under the title *Directorium sacerdotum; sive ordinale secundum usum Sarum.* Fol. A copy of this is in the Museum library. In 1488 an edition was published at Antwerp, 8vo. by Gerard Leeu, a copy of which is in my possession, and the extracts given above are from it. It is not improbable that this is the first edition rather than the undated one by Caxton. Wynkyn de Worde printed the ordinale in 1504, 4to., and Pynson three times, 1498, fol., and 1503 and 1508, in 4to. Copies of these books are in the Bodleian.[91]

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names was lost, may be seen in Evelyn's *Diary.* After a supper in January 1683 with "a select companie" of his learned "Society" the conversation turned on "divers considerable questions proposed; as of the hereditary succession of the Roman emperors, and the Pica mentioned in the preface to our common Prayer, which signifies only the Greek kalendarium." Evelyn was born in 1620, and he very probably had seen and spoken with persons who were alive when the "pica" was a book used in the service of the church of England. At another time, about thirty years before, in 1654, he was shown as a great curiosity "a ritual *secundum usum Sarum*," and was astonished to find it "exceeding voluminous."

[91] An important note is appended to the two early editions by Pynson: "Liber præsens directorium sacerdotum, quem pica Sarum vulgo vocitat clerus, quamquam iste pluribus vicibus intra nostras atque transmarinas terras impressus ac compositus existat, nusquam tamen secundum verum Sarum ordinale cancellatus, seu correctus fuit, nec enucleatus. Sed quia unus pastor ecclesiæ et unum ovile est, erit itaque ovium cleri, viz. Sarum unus canonicæ orationis ordo. Ut concordet psalterium cum cythara in sancta nostra ecclesia cleri Sarum, veneranda semperque laudanda studio disciplinarum universitas Cantabrigiensis hoc onus laboris hujusmodi correctionis, atque cancellationis ordinalis Sarum necessario fiendarum, ven. viro M. Clerke coll. regalis cantori credidit et commissit. Qui quidem M. Clerke hujusmodi onus correctionis sua sponte propter causam prædictam suscepit, emendavit, correxit, atque secundum verum ord. Sarum collationavit." Herbert, *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. 246.

The pye was often chained

Among the books formerly belonging to the church of the parish of Dartington in Devonshire, according to an old inventory preserved among the parish muniments, were "ij py bokes." There were also at the same time there, "iiij nu portas bokys noted. ij old portas bokys notyd. ij manuelys. a scnc̃ [?] boke. iij masse bokys. ij graylys. iij p'ssesner bokys. ij ymner bokys be noted." "Item j antyfener. an olde legent. ij sawters."

CHAPTER IV.

WE come now to the seventh book, the Missale; that volume which in its complete form contained all that was necessary for the due performance of the most solemn Service which the Church can pay to God;[92] even the divine mysteries; the offering of the sacrifice: and as regards herself those rites by the observance of which, according to our Lord's promise, she might by her

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to stalls in cathedral and abbey choirs; being a book constantly to be referred to for the order of the Divine office. It is so spoken of in the *Ripon fabric rolls*, p. 157.

We must not conclude from the statement that a book was "chained" that it must therefore have been a large volume. Mention is made (for example) in the inventory of St. Nicholas Fleshshambles in London of "a little portos chained." A large collection of manuscripts with chains attached is still in Hereford cathedral library; among them are some of moderate size.

[92] "Nihil enim (writes archbishop Walter Raynold, in 1325) in sacrificiis magis est, quam corporis et sanguinis Christi mysticum sacramentum, nec ulla oblatio hoc potior est, sed hæc omnes antecellit." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 528.

priests communicate to man the seal of forgiveness, the bread of life, the medicine of immortality.

The present "Order of the administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion" which has been the rule of the reformed Church of England for the last three hundred years (her modern missal if I may so call it) is so different from the book which had been used in England (either in one or more volumes) for the thousand years before, that I cannot suppose it will be sufficient in the present instance, more than in those of the service books we have already considered, to be content with the brief explanation which we find in Lyndwood: "Missale, i. e. librum, in quo continebuntur omnia ad missam singulis diebus dicendam pertinentia." This was a definition which although it answered the enquiries of his age is not explanatory enough for our own.

In the earlier ages of the Church the office of the holy communion was not contained in one volume but usually in four: the antiphoner, the lectionary, the book of the gospels, and the book of the sacraments or sacramentary. This last is that to which the title of missal was applied; and from an unknown time. Examples are given by Ducange[93] of its use in the episcopate of St. Boniface of Mentz,[94] and by Amalarius and others. The passages from Amalarius are cited by Georgius,[95] who (with Pamelius[96]) decides that he means by the term St. Gregory's sacramentary. The same author quotes also a statute, the xxviijth, from the capitular of Louis the

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[93] *Glossarium, verb.* missale.

[94] *Epistola Jattonis ad Olgarium. Exst. inter epistolas S. Bonifacii,* ep. cxiv.

[95] Tom. 2. p. clxij.

[96] Tom. 2. pp. 56, 318.

pious, A.D. 816, in which the missal, i. e. the sacramentary, is especially mentioned: and again, another from the capitular of Charlemagne, A.D. 789, which I shall leave to the judgment of the reader: "si opus est evangelium, et psalterium, et missale scribere, perfectæ ætatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia."[97]

The antiphoner and lectionary just spoken of were books the contents of which were altogether different from those which were connected with the offices of the canonical hours, and which have been already considered. In its present meaning we are to understand by the first the gradual, as it was always called in later ages; and even in the time of Amalarius according to the custom of some Churches. "Quod dicimus gradale" (he says) "illi vocant cantatorium" i.e. antiphonarium: and it contained, as has been explained before, those parts of the service which, if sung, were to be sung antiphonically. By the other, the lectionary, we are to understand the book of the epistles which was sometimes and much better named the epistolarium, and epistolare; sometimes Liber comitis,[98] and sometimes Apostolus.

It is mere conjecture why it was called Liber comitis: the last editor of Thomasius gives two of the reasons which have been suggested: "alii conjiciunt nomen illud inditum eidem fuisse ut denotaretur clericos illum perpetuum veluti comitem

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[97] Cited also by Ducange.

[98] The student will find the subject of the "Comes" and its author, &c. discussed by Georgius, tom. 2. dissert. ij. cap. 3. Also compare Zaccaria, *Bibl. ritualis*, tom. I. lib. I. p. 36.

secum deferre debere, quod nimirum *in lege Domini*, quæ sacris in lectionibus exponitur, meditentur *die ac nocte.* Alii vero quod Comiti cuidam liber inscriptus primo fuerit ab ejus compilatore."[99] I cannot say that either of these conjectures is more satisfactory than such guesses commonly are. It is certain that the comes was a different book in some instances from the apostolus, though writers have made no distinction between them : an early charter cited originally by Suarez, afterwards by Mabillon[1] and a host of authors, proves this. It enumerates among a number of books given for the service of a church "evangelia iv., apostolum, psalterium, et comitem." The one therefore probably contained the lections read at mass from writings not of the apostles; the other, those only which were taken from the canonical epistles: and the two together would make up a volume not unfrequently occurring in ancient writers, the Lectionarius plenarius.

One other meaning attached to the lectionarius must not be omitted, viz. that a mere index of the epistles which were to be read, giving the first words only and the last, was sometimes so called. Such was a lectionary published by Thomasius,[2] and again by Georgius in his *appendix monumentorum*,[3] under another name which it also bore, Capitulare.

The Evangelistarium, evangelium, or evangeliarium, is not involved in so great difficulty. Its contents were the portions of scripture appointed to be

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[99] *Opera*, tom. v. præf. xxi.

[1] *De re diplomatica*, lib. v. p. 762.

[2] *Opera*, tom. v.

[3] Tom. 3. 227.

read from the four gospels. Other names by which they were also occasionally called are Textevangelium and Textus.[4] These volumes were often most lavishly adorned with jewels and gold and silver, a token of the especial reverence with which the holy gospels and these selections from them were regarded by the Church. We can trace this to the time when Eddius, the biographer of archbishop Wilfrid, thus speaks of a book which was written for him: "addens quoque s. pontifex noster, inter alia bona ad decorem domus Dei, inauditum ante sæculis nostris quoddam miraculum. Nam quatuor evangelia de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis coloratis, pro animæ suæ remedio scribere jussit, nec non et bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem de auro purissimo, et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactam compaginare inclusores gemmarum præcepit."[5] Or again, when the famous Textus sancti Cuthberti was adorned with a silver gilt cover and precious stones; which manuscript, but unhappily in bad modern binding, is still preserved in the library of the British museum.

With much other silver plate and ornaments said to have been given to the abbey of Glastonbury by king Ina were "coopertoria librorum evangelii de xx libris."[6] About the year 1200, in the time of abbot John, there were made for the church of St. Alban "duo textus de argento superaurato; in quorum uno crux cum crucifixo, et Maria Johanne

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[4] Ducange, *Glossarium.*

[5] *Annal. Bened.* sæc. iv. pt. ii. p. 552. Mabillon remarks that *bibliotheca* here means the four evangelists.

[6] Malmesbury, *de ant. Glaston.*, *script. Angl.* tom. 3. p. 311.

figurantur; alio vero Majestas cum quatuor evangelistis, elegantissimis cælaturis insculpitur."[7]

Even parish churches grudged not greater expenses and outlay upon the textus: of which there is an example in the church at Sunning, in Berkshire, in the year 1220: "Item, j. textus coopertus argento, continens evangelia anni."[8] But what are we to say of that copy once in the cathedral church of Salisbury? "continens saphiros .xx. et smaragdos .vj. et thopazios .viij. et alemandinas .xviij. et gernettas .viij. et perlas .xij.;" which moreover was, though chief, yet but one of many.[9]

This reverence continued to be shown towards the evangelisteria in particular, above all other books, in succeeding ages. Of which the frequent entries in inventories are a certain proof: as for example, "A booke of gospelles garnished and wrought with antique worke of siluer and gilte with an image of the crucifix with Mary and John, poiz together cccxxij. oz." And, once more, so late as the time of queen Elizabeth, among whose jewels &c. was included "Oone gospell booke covered with tissue and garnished on th'onside with the crucifix and the queenes badges of silver gilt, poiz with wodde, leaves, and all cxij. oz."[10] Many other descriptions of such spendid books, either upon record or still extant, are to be referred to.[11]

The distinction between the evangelistarium and the evangelistarium plenarium seems to have been

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[7] Matt. Paris, *Vitæ S. Alb. abbatum*, p. 1043.

[8] *Registrum S. Osmundi*, MS. fol. 37. See appendix to this dissertation.

[9] *Registrum S. Osmundi*, fol. 84.

[10] *Archæologia*, vol. 13. p. 221.

[11] See especially Georgius, tom. 2. dissert. ij. cap. 1.

that this latter contained all the four gospels, whilst the same title without the addition of plenarium is to be understood of one of the gospels only, or the portions which were read from them. There was also a capitulare evangeliorum, answering the same purpose of an index as the one above for the epistles.

Here also must be mentioned a capitular (for such in fact it is) which not unfrequently is to be met with in manuscripts of the new Testament in English. I shall extract the rubric from one in the library of the British museum: "Here begynnythe a rule, that tellith in whiche chapitris of the bible new law ye mown fynd the epistlis & the gospels: that ben rad in the chirche at mass after the vse of salisbury, markid with lettris of the a. b. c. at the begynnynge of the chapitris, towarde the myddil or the ende, aftire the ordre of the lettris stondynge in the a. b. c. In the firste parte ben sett sonendayes & ferialis to gydre: and after the commune sanctorum & the propre. Of all the first ther is writene a clause of the begynnynge therof: & also a clause of the eende.

The first sonenday of aduent	Rom. xiij. *c.*	*d.* we knowen this tyme.	*ende.* in the lord Ihs Ct.
	Matheu. xxj. *c.*	Whanne ihs cam nygh.	*ende.* osanna in high thingis."[12]

[12] Royal library, MS. i. A. x. These tables are so curious that I shall give in a note a corresponding rubric from another MS. in the same collection (i. A. iv): "Here begynneth a rule that tellith in whiche chapitris of the bible ye may fynde the lessouns, pistlis and gospels, that ben red in the churche aftir the vse of salisburi: markid with lettris of the a. b. c. at the begynnynge of the chapitris toward the myddil or eende: aftir the ordre as the lettris stonden in the a. b. c. first ben sett sundaies

The fourth volume, when the missal was anciently so divided, was the Liber sacramentorum, or as it was also called the Sacramentarium. For though some writers have laid down distinctions between these titles, as referring to books of different contents, I think we may rely upon the decision which Angelo Rocca and afterwards Georgius have come to, that while the former is the more ancient name the two are synonymous. The canon of the sacramentaries, as I have shown in another work, cannot (as a whole) be given to any author later than an apostle; but they are usually referred to and known as the Leonine, the Gelasian, and the Gregorian; from those three great popes who undoubtedly corrected, and added to, or abbreviated them.

This book was so called, and also sometimes Liber mysteriorum and as we have already seen missalis, because it contained those rites and prayers which related immediately to the full completion of the sacraments and of the eucharist especially, the sacrament κατ' ἐξοχήν. For in these volumes were to be found the rites of administering the sacrament of baptism upon the eves of Easter and Pentecost, of reconciling penitents, of marriage, and of orders, as well as of the holy communion. As regarded the last, in the sacramentary were the collects, the secrets, the prefaces, the canon, the prayer *infra canonem*, and post-communion: in short, all those portions of the service which were not in the other

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and ferials togidere: and aftir that the sanctorum, the propre and comyn togider of al the yeer: and thanne last the commemoracionns: that is clepid the temporal of al the yere. First is written a clause of the begynnynge of the pistil & gospel, & a clause of the endynge therof."

books. The greatest care and reverence was anciently paid to the sacramentary, as we may learn from a canon of the council of Rhemes cited by Georgius:[13] "expleta missa, calix et sacramentorum liber cum vestibus sacerdotalibus in mundo loco sub sera recondantur."

These books (it need scarcely be added) are of the very highest importance, and the most learned ritualists have devoted their attention to their contents. Pamelius was the first editor of any part of either of them: after him Thomasius; and last of all the most complete edition by Muratori, in 1748. Neither must it be forgotten that a sacramentary was published by Flaccus (sometimes called Flacius) Illyricus, claiming to be more ancient even than the Leonine: but after-examination proved it to be of not earlier date than the tenth or eleventh century, and with its reputed authority fell also the arguments and the triumph of the party by whom it had been supported[14].

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[13] Tom. 3. p. 156.

[14] The history of this publication, its suppression by Philip of Spain and Sixtus V, and then approval by Roman Catholics and suppression by the Lutherans, is sufficiently entertaining as well as instructive. It does not speak much in favour of the learning of the Centuriator, for it proves some of the very points which he the most eagerly attacked: such as the doctrine of the sacrifice of the eucharist, prayers for the dead, &c. It is a most rare volume: there is a copy, if I mistake not, in the library of Exeter cathedral. Cardinal Bona should be consulted on the subject; he devotes to it a part of the twelfth chapter of his first book, *Rerum liturg.*, and has reprinted it in an appendix at the end. The Lutherans were so anxious to destroy it that it is said neither Cassander nor Pamelius could obtain sight of a copy. Bona says he had long searched for it in vain. Conf. also Mabillon, *Liturgia gallicana*, lib. 1. cap. 3, and Martene, *de ant. rit.* tom. 1. p. 176.

And as time went on the want of a missal which in a collected and arranged form should supply all that had heretofore been divided among these several books must have been universally acknowledged. Hence that volume was compiled by various Churches which the constitution of archbishop Winchelsey refers to, called missale or missale plenarium.

Before we proceed to an examination of it, I must remind the reader that the custom of continuing to keep in separate books various portions of the service did not cease with the introduction of the missal of modern times. In the catalogues of the English cathedrals and monasteries which have come down to us we find evangelisteria, and epistotolaria, and gradualia, and sequentialia, and troperia still used and rewritten, together with the missal. These were used on great occasions, or in processions, or laid open in the choir, or were necessary where so many persons (as in those great establishments) were employed in the daily service; and gave visible evidence of the magnificence which the Church knew to be well-fitting to the House of God.

Of such a kind probably was the famous psalter of St. Kenelm, concerning which Giraldus relates a miracle said to have occurred in his own days, by which the sin of a criminous monk was discovered: "qui die crastino ad processionem psalterium prædictum inter reliquias sanctorum ferre præsumens, completa processionis solemnitate reversus in chorum, idem manibus suis firmiter adhærens deponere non prævaluit."[15]

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[15] *Itinerarium*, p. 824.

But in small parishes these numerous books were beyond the means of both priest and people; and it may be asked, if the missal in the thirteenth century contained all things pertaining to the saying of the service why did the constitution order also the gradale and, if the tropes were not in that, also the troperium?

The answer to this is that parishes were bound to furnish all books necessary for the due performance of the public worship: and every priest being strictly forbidden to say mass alone, that is, without a minister or clerk, a book or books were to be supplied which should contain those portions of the service in which the duty of the assistant lay. There are numerous canons not only of general councils but of synods also of the English Church insisting upon this. Cases of necessity only were allowed to interfere with the rule: such, for example, as of a plague. Hence we find orders to this effect in the Anglo-saxon age, as in the ecclesiastical institutes: "Mass priests shall not on any account or by any means celebrate mass alone, without other men, that he may know whom he addresses, and who responds to him."[16] A council at York A. D. 1195 decrees that no priest shall celebrate "sine ministro literato."[17] One of the constitutions of Walter de Kirkham, bishop of Durham in 1255, is precise in its rule: "Ad augendum vero divini cultus obsequium ordinamus et disponimus; ut in singulis ecclesiis, quarum facultates ad hoc sufficiunt, sint diaconi et subdiaconi, sicut decet, Deo minis-

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[16] Thorpe, *Ancient laws and institutes*, vol. 2. 407.

[17] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. 501.

trantes. In aliis vero ecclesiis saltem unus clericus idoneus, et honestus, qui in tonsura decenti congruo habitu deserviat sacerdoti, ne ecclesiæ debitis officiis defraudentur."[18] Again, a canon of the synod of Norwich, 1257, in almost the same words: "In singulis quoque ecclesiis, quarum facultates ad hoc sufficiunt, sint unus diaconus et subdiaconus, in eisdem, ut decet, ministrantes. In aliis vero ecclesiis sit saltem clericus unus honestus, qui sacerdoti cum habitu convenienti in divinis ministret officiis."[19] And, once more, at a diocesan synod under H. Woodloke of Winchester in 1308, a canon specifies the amount of taxation which would be the limit, and the vestments to be provided: "Volumus, quod in singulis ecclesiis, quæ ad quinquaginta marcarum (summam) vel ultra, communiter sunt taxatæ, sint unus diaconus, et unus subdiaconus, continue ministrantes, et unum ad minus vestimentum solenne, ac tunica, et dalmatica competens."[20] These bring us

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[18] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. 707.

[19] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. 733. Repeated by a synod at Ely in 1364; *ibid.* tom. 3. p. 61.

[20] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 2. 295. This canon says nothing about the clerk who at least should attend in every parish. There is no doubt such was the rule throughout England, and not only so but in a decent habit, "cum habitu convenienti" as it is above; or, according to the rule laid down in the provincial constitution of archbishop Walter Raynold A.D. 1322, "Item, nullus clericus permittatur ministrare in officio altaris, nisi indutus superpellicio." *Concilia*, tom. 2. 513. It is possible that there might occasionally in poor places have been some difficulty in providing the surplice; but means were generally at hand. For example, a canon of a synod of Chichester, 1289, repeated over and over again in mediæval synods with injunctions to archdeacons to enquire at their visitations: "panni etiam chrismales in usus seculares, seu prophanos minime convertantur, sed ad manutergia,

down to the date of the council of Merton and Winchelsey's statute.

During the ages which intervened between the use of the liber sacramentorum with its accompanying parts and the general adoption of the complete book[21] of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the missal was (if I may so speak) in a transition state; sometimes containing more, sometimes less of the entire office. Thus the manuscripts which still

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seu superpellicia, seu pannos cæteros consuendos seu reficiendos, dispositione discreti sacerdotis cum omni reverentia catholica exponantur." *Concilia*, tom. 2. 171. Compare a statute of a provincial council of Geo. Neville archbishop of York, in which priests are directed to be ready to perform at the proper hours the Divine offices "induti superpelliciis, quæ sibi propriis expensis providebunt." *Concilia*, tom. 3. 604. To the same effect, of John Kempe; *ibid.* 3. 675. And of a synod of Norwich; *ibid.* 1. 735.

Again, compare the rules laid down by archbishop Winchelsey with regard to chaplains and assistant priests, in the year 1305: "quod debeant interesse cancello matutinis, vesperis, et aliis divinis officiis, horis debitis, induti superpelliciis, de quibus propriis expensis sibi providebunt." Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 2. p. 281; cf. tom. 3. p. 214. The attendance of a clerk besides the priests at divine service, in even the smallest parishes, was frequently insisted on; and we find it often specified in the ordinations of vicarages. Cf. *Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 2098, &c.

Among the presentments at the visitation of the archdeacon of Colchester in 1540 was this: "notatur per rectorem dictæ ecclesiæ that ther is nother clerke, nor sexten, to go with him in time of visitation [of the sick] nor to helpe to say masse, nor to rynge to servyce." Hale's *Series of precedents*, &c., no. cccxlviij. See also no. cccl. This presentment serves to illustrate the remarkable book issued nine years afterwards, to accompany the Prayer book of 1549, and described below, p. 60. note 20.

[21] There were "completa missalia" as early as the eleventh century, though we can scarcely decide in how great a degree; see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 2. 527; and the inventory of bishop Leofric's books, &c., "⁊ ii fulle mæsse bec."

exist vary in their contents: and it would be neither an useful nor a successful task to delay upon any attempt at a description of them. These variations do not extend only to the prayers, collects, and graduals, but to the rubrics also. Some copies contain few rubrics; others none, except mere distinctions where portions of the service begin and end; whilst again others are full and include the rubrics of the processional. I shall therefore now pass on to the printed missal.

Until within a few years past the first edition known to have been printed of any missal of the English Church was published in 1492 at Rouen, by M. Morin, according to the use of Sarum. A copy, however, of a still earlier edition was lately discovered in a private library in England and was lent for a short time to the British museum. This is not perfect; but, independently of its value as the *editio princeps* (so far as we have yet learnt) of the Sarum missal, it is of further interest because bearing the name of Caxton on the colophon: not that the book was actually from his press but printed for him at Rouen.

This first Sarum missal is in folio, in double columns. The title is wanting; but the colophon is, "Missale ad usum Sarum cuncti tenentis dei dono magno conamine elaboratum finit feliciter. Exaratum Parisius (*sic*) impensa optimi viri Guillermi Caxton. Arte vero et industria magistri Guillermi Maynyal. Anno domini M.cccc.lxxxvij. iiij Decembris." Very little is known of William Maynyal, the Parisian printer.

The copy of the second edition (as it must now be regarded) of the Sarum missal being perfect and

of the very highest importance, an exact collation of the book will still be useful. It may thus happen also that imperfect portions in public or private libraries may be identified.[22] One perfect copy only is at present known,[23] and no bibliographer has noticed it or been able to prove the existence of any edition earlier than that by Hertzog,[24] in 1494. The reader must excuse the length to which this description necessarily runs.

The book is a small folio, printed in black letter, and the initials manuscript, either illuminated or in plain red or blue ink. With the exception of the calendar the text is in double columns, the running title of each page exactly standing over the blank

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[22] As has been the case upon a comparison of the book with the editions in the Bodleian library. A large fragment was found there, upon vellum, the imperfections of which had been supplied from an edition upon paper with the date 1510, printed also at Rouen, but by Joh. Richard; and the whole volume naturally so entered in the catalogue.

[23] In my possession [1846]. Now in the British museum.

[24] Not only because of its old renown but of its really intrinsic value, for I believe it to be the third edition, it cannot be out of place to give here a short description of this volume, from the copy in the Cambridge university library. The title is "Missale secundum vsum ecclesie Sarum Anglicane." sm. 8vo. There is not a woodcut before the service of advent sunday, but a well-cut initial A: and another very beautifully executed T, at the *Te igitur* of the canon. Before the canon is a woodcut of the crucifixion; our Saviour, St. Mary, and St. John. Blanks are left, as in the edition of 1492, for the English forms in the *Missa sponsalium*. The second title, if I may so call it, before advent sunday is, "In nomine sanctissime trinitatis. Missale ad vsum chori sancte ecclesie Sarum anglicane feliciter incipit." It ends with the cautells, or "Informationes sacerdotis celebrare volentis:" then the colophon, ". . . Impressum venetiis per Joannem hertzog de laudoia . . . Anno dñi. M.cccc.xciiij. kals mensis decembris." The book is foliated: 328 folios.

space between the columns. The present copy is ruled throughout with faint red lines, and the rubrics are distinguished by a smaller type, also black letter, very carefully underlined with red ink. There is no pagination.

Missale secundum usum
ecclesie sarisburien.

This title is upon the recto of the first leaf, of which the reverse is blank. There is no signature at the bottom of the page. Upon the next leaf begins the calendar, and at the foot of it the sign. Sr. ii. (Sarum). Each month occupies a page, and has head-lines of so many days to the month and so many to the moon: of so many hours to the day and to the night. There is an additional line to the month of January which runs, "Annus hēt. xii. mēses: ebdomād. lii. et diē. i. et hʒ. dies .ccclxv. et hōr. vi." Below this, "Januarius habet dies .xxxi. Luna .xxx. Nox habet horas .xvi. dies vero octo." The calendar gives the golden numbers, the dominical letters, and the Roman mode of reckoning by calends, nones, and ides; and the festivals, octaves, &c. then observed by the church of Salisbury. Somewhere about the middle of each month's calendar, taking the opportunity of one or more blank days, the position of the sun is stated, as the case may be; (*Jan.*) "Sol in aquario," or (*Feb.*) "Sol in piscibus," &c. The months are not fully occupied with festivals and commemorations. For example, in January, the 7th, 9th to 12th inclusive, 23rd and 24th, 26th, 29th, and 31st are vacant days. In May, the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 13th to 18th inclusive, 20th to 24th inclusive, 27th, 29th and 30th are vacant; and

in December, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 5th, 9th to the 12th inclusive, the 14th to the 20th inclusive, the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, and the 30th are also vacant.

In the month of May, upon the 19th, it is simply said, after naming St. Dunstan, "**Memoria de virgi,**" i.e. Potentiana.

After the calendar follows (upon the last leaf of this sheet Sr) the "**¶ Benedictio salis et aque.**" After which are a short "**¶ Benedictio panis,**" consisting of the "**Dominus vobiscum. et cum spiritu tuo,**" and a prayer: and again, "**¶ Alia benedictio panis,**" viz. "℣. **Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini.** ℟. **Qui fecit coelum et terram.** ℣. **Dominus vobiscum.** ℟. **Et cum spiritu tuo:**" followed by a different prayer.

The missal itself strictly speaking now begins, with a fresh signature, **a i.** The first page of this is surrounded by a woodcut border of four pieces representing flowers and birds, executed with much spirit and delicacy, somewhat in the manner of the very beautiful horæ published by Geoffry Tori at Paris 1527. The most striking difference between the two (a difference in which we might almost trace the rapid refinement of taste in this respect then growing) consists in a representation of a winged animal, small but hideous and disgusting, in the centre of the lower compartment. Rather more than half the page is occupied by a woodcut of the celebration of the eucharist.[24] Above the woodcut is the running title **Dominica prima aduentus domini,** and below it at the head of the first column,

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[24] This is probably the print or illumination to which Morton refers in his book on "the idolatrous abominations of the Romish masse," p. 154.

Incipit missale secundū vsum Sar̄. Dn̄ica prima de aduentu. Ad missam. Introitus. Then follows the introit: **Ad te leuavi animam meam, &c.**, the initial **A** being handsomely illuminated upon gold ground, occupying a blank space of half the column for the first seven lines.

The signatures run on regularly from **a** to **l** in eights. The ordinary of the mass begins at the end of the thirteenth line of the second column upon the recto of **l i**. There is no break in the line beyond what is usual with a fresh sentence nor any mark to denote it: but it begins immediately after the conclusion of the proper office **In vigilia pasche.** The ordinary of the mass ends upon the reverse of **l** 7 in the middle of the second column; the lower part of which is left blank. The "Gloria in excelsis Deo," "Oremus," "Dominus vobiscum," "Credo," and the proper prefaces are noted. Upon the recto of **l** 8 are three prayers: **¶ Oratio dicenda ante missam. ¶ Oratio deuota de sacramento altaris. ¶ Oratio dicenda post missam.**[25] The reverse of this leaf is blank. An extra leaf follows, without a signature, having upon the recto a large woodcut coloured, representing the first Person of the ever-blessed Trinity seated upon a throne and crowned with the triple crown; the right hand upraised with the two first fingers extended in the act of giving the benediction, the left hand resting upon the globe surmounted by the cross. On each side of the throne are cherubim and at the corners the evangelistic symbols; each symbolic beast holding a scroll, blank but clearly intended for some legend.

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[25] Two of these prayers are reprinted in the *Ancient liturgy*.

The upper part of this print is circular and in size it occupies nearly the entire page.

This is a rare picture, and very seldom found in printed missals. The usual or, in fact, the constant rule in all manuscripts and in the early printed missals (as now) was to put before the canon the crucifixion or a cross.[26] Possibly in the present copy there was originally another leaf preceding this with a print also of the crucifixion: this would have been upon the reverse of the leaf, whereas that now described is on the recto. The doubt cannot be decided until another copy is found of this edition. One argument that this may have been the only print and that the book has not been mutilated may be derived from the circumstance that at the foot of it is drawn by a contemporary hand a large gilt cross, as if to supply the omission.

Immediately following this the canon of the mass begins upon **m i.** The initial T of the *Te igitur* is illuminated like the A before described upon a

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[26] It was the custom in the middle ages in England for the priest to kiss the feet of the figure of our Lord if the crucifixion was represented, or a plain cross on the lower margin of the page. We frequently find traces of this salutation left upon the leaves of manuscripts and of early printed missals; in some cases the lower portion of the picture or the cross is obliterated. It may be that sometimes the T of the "Te igitur" served the same purpose. As pope Innocent has said, "forte divina factum est providentia ut ab ea litera canon inciperet, quæ sua forma signum crucis ostendit et exprimit in figura." *Myster. miss.* lib. 3.

The T before the canon in the magnificent missal belonging to the abbey of Westminster contains an illumination of Abraham about to slay Isaac. The volume has been much rubbed by the protestant inquisitors.

gold ground, occupying one half of the first six lines of the first column. This sheet **m** has four leaves only, and as in the ordinary there are no head-lines or running title. The **Per omnia saecula saeculorum** and **Pater noster** are noted. The second column of the reverse of **m iii** and the two pages of **m iv** are occupied by the prayers &c. to be said after mass, or "in prostratione," at certain times of the year. The canon itself ends a little below the middle of the first column on the reverse of **m iii**, but there is no particular mark or break in the line; the last half-column of the sheet is blank.

The offices for the various sundays and ferials of the year, which had been interrupted by the ordinary and the canon, recommence upon **n** with the running title **In die sancto pasche**. This page is surrounded by a woodcut border exactly similar to the one described upon **a i** except that the top compartment is (not reversed, but) turned upside down, which is evident at a glance from the bird occupying the centre of it. There is no other woodcut, but close under the top border the rubric **¶ In die pasche. Ad missam. Offm̃.**, immediately below which begins **Resurrexi et adhuc tecum**, &c. The initial **R** is illuminated, not upon gold, occupying a third of the first five lines of the column.

The signatures run on regularly in eights from **n** to **z** inclusive, and after **z** another sign. **t**, also in eight. The sunday and ferial offices, followed by the services for the four ember days before advent, end about the middle of the first column upon the recto of **s iij.** Then come immediately the offices **In dedicatione ecclesie**, with its octave; **In consecratione ecclesie**, and **In reconsiliatione ecclẽ.**

These end in the middle of the first column on the recto of **ſ v.** The sanctorale follows, beginning in the same column, after a blank space of two lines. The rubric is simply **In vigilia ſancti andree apoſtoli. Offm̄. Dominus ſecus mare,** &c. The initial **D** is illuminated like the **R** of the introit for easter day, not upon a gold ground, and with the same space left for it in width but of four lines only. The sanctorale ends eight lines from the end of the second column upon the reverse of **t viii.** This space is of course left blank.

A new set of signatures now begins: running on in eights, from **ā** to **d̄: ē F** and **G** are in sixes. The first page of **ā** is again surrounded by the same border already described, the top and bottom compartments as in the beginning of the book. The running title is **In vigilia unius apoſtoli,** and the rubric immediately under the upper border, **¶ Incipit commune ſanctor̄. ad uſum Sar̄. In vigilia unius apoſtoli ſive euangeliſte. Ad miſſam. Officium.**—**Ego autem ſicut oliva,** &c. The initial **E** is illuminated on a plain ground, like the previous **R** and **D**, occupying one third of the column to the depth of the first four lines. The ordo sponsalium begins upon the reverse of **e iij,** the eleventh line from the top of the second column. There is no break more than usual in the line, but the usual heading, **Ordo ad facīedum ſponſalia.** The running title of this page and for the next three leaves (except the recto of **e vi** which has **Miſſa ſponſalium**) is **Ordo ſponſalium.** There are blank spaces left for the forms of espousal and at the giving of the ring, evidently intended to be filled up with manuscript in the vulgar tongue. The rubric of the first runs, **Et ſic vir det**

fidem mulieri per verba de prese͞ti ita dicens: sacerdote dicente manum retrahendo. Deinde dicat mulier sacerdote docente manum retrahendo. The second runs, Et dicat sponsus tenens manum sponse: docente sacerdote ¶ In nomine patris et filii et spu͞s sancti. This missa sponsalium is followed by some other services, the last of which is a mass Pro pestilentia euitanda, and ends six lines above the bottom of the first column on the recto of G vi. This space of course is left blank. The colophon begins at the top of the second column of this page, thus:—

Impensa et arte magr͞i Mar
tini morin ciuis Rothomage͞
sis iuxta i͞signem prioratum
sancti laudi eiusdem ciuitatis
moram trahentis officiuȝ sa-
crum ad usum sar͞ (vt vulgo
loq̄mur) missale dictu/ sollerti
correctionis lima nuper casti-
gatum et impressu͞: finit felici
ter. Anno domini M.CCCC
lxxxii. die xii. Octobris.

The remainder of the column is blank. Upon the reverse of the leaf is the device of the printer Martin Morin; surrounded by the legend IMPRIME. A. ROUEN. DEUANT. SAINCT. LO.

A full page (for example k i) without rubrics contains forty lines, besides the running title: a ii nearly full of rubric in a smaller letter (as I have already said) has the same number.

The missals contain very frequently "Extracta e compoto," either at the beginning or end; these

are helps to the proper understanding of the calendar: sometimes a table "ad inveniendum pascha in perpetuum:" and occasionally at the end, "Prologus in accentuarium," a guide to the quantity of various words in reading and chanting, with an ample list of words long and short. Before the ordinary of the mass or at the end of the volume are commonly also to be found the "Cautelæ missæ." The canon is sometimes printed upon vellum, and (I believe) always preceded by a woodcut representing generally the crucifixion, occupying sometimes the upper half and sometimes the whole of a page.[27] To the presence of this picture we must trace the cause of the mutilation of so many of the copies which have come down to us: and those in which it was allowed to remain, or were hidden and so escaped, are almost always perfect in other respects.[28] It is wonderful what an effect a first mutilating of any book has upon the after-care bestowed upon it: it is no longer complete, and offends its possessors. How much more would such a feeling, mournful indeed, be the

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[27] I have already briefly alluded to this woodcut or illumination of the cross or crucifixion. Bona, lib. 2. xi, speaks of it as of a very ancient observance in MSS. which is true; but it was not absolutely necessary: its object was to remind the priest of the Divine service in which he was engaged. Probably we are to trace to this the interpolated prayer of the Hereford missal, "Adoramus," etc.

[28] Very many editions of the Sarum missal are adorned with a profusion of woodcuts, small and large, varying also with the size of the volume. These are generally prefixed to the beginnings of each day's service. Among them two especially will often be found defaced or cut out altogether. One, the crucifixion, before the missa *de quinque vulneribus;* the other, a representation of St. Mary Magdalene.

consequence of the indignities to which the church-books were subjected in the sixteenth century; and we may trace to this another among the causes owing to which thousands of copies perished altogether.

I shall now copy from an edition printed by Regnault, in fol. at Paris 1529, the table of contents: and this, with an account of the service for one sunday, will enable the student to form a tolerably correct idea of what he may expect to find in the old missals of the Church of England:—

"¶ *Hoc in opere hæc sequentia hoc ordine continentur. Primo.* Tabula annorum communium et bissextilium literarumque dominicalium quotannis currentium. Clavium item festorum mobilium: simulque aurei numeri subjuncti. *Secundo*, kalendarium, ex quo multas elicere poteris utilitates: quia aureus numerus in principio locatus, novilunii singulis mensibus est declarativus. *Post numerum* vero aureum sequitur series literarum, dominicalium literarum declarativa. *Post hanc* vero locantur festa, tam celebria quam non celebria, ac modus eorumdem dicendi officia. Postremo autem ponuntur numeri mensium dierum declarativi: per quos officia sanctorum atque sanctarum hoc in opere contentarum, facile inveniuntur.[29]

¶ *Dominicarum ac feriarum officia* cum ordinem servent, ac per titulos satis constent, non opus esse duxi de his tabula cudere.

¶ Sanctorum atque sanctarum officia[30] numerus

[29] This is a very complete arrangement of a calendar, as comparison with other editions will show.

[30] Some editions which have tables of the same sort (for all have not) say "officia manifesta sunt per titulos."

(ut supra dixi) in kalendario positus tibi facile indicabit.

¶ Sequuntur ea in quibus in quærendo labor contingere potest. *Primo.* Commune sanctorum atque sanctarum proprium non habentium.

¶ *Missæ dicendæ per hebdomadam.*

¶ *Missæ votivæ sive communes, scilicet primo:*

℄ De sacramento matrimonii. fo. xlij.
Kyrie eleison. fo. lxij.
Præparatio ad missam, quære ante præfationem.
Accidentia missæ, quære post canonem."

Commonly at the beginning of the missals, under the office for the first sunday in advent, general rubrics are inserted for the services throughout the year: particular variations affecting these are of course noticed in their proper places.

Let us take the third sunday in advent. The course of the service on that day was; ℄ *Dominica tertia adventus. Ad magnam missam. Officium* (or introit). Gaudete in Domino. *Ps.* Et pax Dei. *Oratio.* Aurem tuam. *Epistola ad Corinthios.* Fratres. Sic nos existimet. *Gradale.* Qui sedes. ℣. Qui regis Israel. Alleluia. ℣. Excita Domine. *Sequentia.* Qui regis sceptra. *Secundum Matthæum.* In illo tempore. Cum audisset Johannes. *Offertorium.* Benedixisti Domine. ℣. Operuisti omnia. ℣. Ostende nobis. *Secreta.* Devotionis nostræ. *Præfatio quotidiana. Communio.* Dicite pusillanimes. *Postcommunio.* Imploramus Domine.

The rest of the service was to be found in the ordinary and canon, which (I believe I may say) were invariably placed in the middle of the volume, either following the service for easter day or before the sanctorale, that is, the offices for the saints' days. The rubrics which were in that part, with those already mentioned in the service for advent sunday, would supply all the required directions.

I do not think it necessary to extract the service of another day: except in the changes just mentioned they are much the same, and an examination

of the modern Roman missal will sufficiently show to what extent these changes reached.

As has been already stated, the first edition of the Sarum missal was printed in 1489;[31] the last (I believe) in folio also, no printer's name,[32] "Londini, anno domini M.D.lvij." This has at the beginning a most ample table of contents, not only of the saints' days arranged under each month, but also of the sundays. There is a full collection also of occasional masses, among which are "pro incarcerato, pro temptatione carnis, pro rege et regina, pro quiescentibus in cœmeterio," &c. I do not mean that these are not also in other editions but notice them to show the value of this, and also that the reader must expect to find such variations as these in the missals which he may happen to meet with: some having more, some a less number of votive and occasional masses. In speaking of books so rare in their kind as Salisbury missals it seems almost absurd to speak of a choice of

[31] The first edition printed in England was by Julian Notary, folio: in the colophon, "Jussu et impensis præstantissimi viri Winkin de Worde. Impressum Londoñ. apud Westmonasterium per Iulianum notaire et Iohanem barbier felici numine explicitum est. Anno dñi. M.cccc.lxxxxviij. xx. die mensis Decembris." I have [1846] a copy of this wanting the first sheet and a sheet in the middle. There is a fine copy in the library of the duke of Sutherland. The next edition was by Pynson, fol. 1504.

A word may be added upon so important a book as the Roman missal. Zaccaria, tom. i. p. 52, mentions the edition of 1477 as the first: but there was an edition before that by Udalric Gallus, 1475, which Mr. Gage, *Archæologia*, vol. 24. p. 14, speaks of. And again, on the authority of Hain, *Repertorium bibl.*, there were preceding this two without date or place, and one at Venice without date.

[32] Most probably by John Day.

editions: and though in a collection the late ones, of queen Mary's time, are fully as valuable and important for many purposes as the earlier, yet I should myself prefer and have more reliance upon a copy printed before 1545 than after. The folio of 1557 has an additional value from being the last missal of Salisbury use published by authority in England.

The Hereford missal, so far as I have been able to learn, was printed but once: neither do I know of more than four copies, one only of which is perfect. Two are in the Bodleian, another in the library of St. John's college, Oxford, and the perfect copy is in the British museum. The St. John's copy is but a large fragment: one of the two in the Bodleian is upon vellum and wants but a few leaves. The book is a folio, and the following are the title and colophon. Title: "Anno Incarnationis domini secundo supra quingentesimum atque millesimum, die vero prima mensis Septembris, opera et industria M. Petri oliverii et Johannis mauditier Impressorum Rothomagi, juxta sacellum divi apostolorum principis Petri commorantium. Impensa vero Johannis richardi mercatoris: hoc novum et egregium opus sacri Missalis ad usum famosæ ac percelebris ecclesie Helfordensis nuper instanti ac peruigili cura visum correctum et emendatum. Necnon auctoritate reuerendi in Christo patris et domini ejusdem ecclesie epyscopi meritissimi, ac dominorum decani et capituli: est in propatulo venale facile precio coram cunctis productum et exhibitum." Colophon: "Finis Missalis ad vsum celebris ecclesie Helfordensis, summa cura ac vigili opera nuper Impressi Rothomagi cum additione

accentuarii legentibus in ecclesiis valde vtili. Et hoc impensis Iohannis richardi eiusdem Rothomagi civis non immeriti: iuxta ecclesiam diui nicholai commorantis." At sign. A. j, after the calendar and several pages containing directions how to say the collects, the kyries, &c., the short title at the head of the service for advent sunday is, "Incipit missale secundum vsum Herfordensem."

The history of the perfect copy in the library of the British museum is curious. I heard about the year 1854, but scarcely believed, that a Hereford missal was among a number of old books which had belonged for a very long time to the two or three members of the Franciscan order still remaining in England. Upon enquiry the statement proved to be correct. The collection, amounting to some hundreds of volumes, had been kept in the upper room of a small house in Bristol, seldom used and in a neglected condition; so neglected that the Hereford missal was found lying open on the floor with the accumulated dust of many years covering the two exposed pages, which still show the stains. In every other respect the volume is clean, large, and in excellent condition.

The Hereford missal has lately been carefully edited by Dr. Henderson, for the Surtees society.

Of the York missal five editions are extant: but so completely has it also been destroyed that except of two, the 1516 and the 1533, only single copies are believed to remain. These editions are: 1. fol. Peter Olivier, Rouen, 1516. A copy is in the Bodleian, and another not quite perfect (some inside corners of the ordinary and canon being destroyed) in the Cambridge university library. 2. Quarto,

1517. In my possession [1846]. I shall give the full title and colophon of this edition, as it lies before me. Title: "Missale ad vsum celeberrime ecclesie Eboracensis optimis caracteribus nouissime Impressum, cura peruigili maximaque lucubratione mendis quampluribus emendatum, atque in forma portatili marginatum, ere et impensis honestorum virorum guillermi bernard et Jacobi cousin, bibliopolarum Rothomagi degentium ante atrium librariorum maioris ecclesie, atque in ipso atrio e regione curie ecclesiastice. Anno salutis christianæ decimo septimo supra millesimum et quingentesimum, die vero vicesimasexta mensis octobris completum." Colophon: "¶ Ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis dei et virginis marie ac totius curie celestis, exaratum et completum ac etiam in pristino statu redactum est hoc presens missale ad vsum insignis ecclesie Eboracensis. Opera honesti viri, Magistri Petri oliuier impressoris. Rothomagi commorantis." 3. Quarto, Johannis Gachet, 1530. In the Bodleian. 4. 4to., Fr. Regnault, Paris, 1533. In the Bodleian, and St. John's college, Cambridge. 5. Fol., Peter Violette, Rothomagi. In the Bodleian. A fragment, one sheet only, of a York missal is in the library of the British museum, which has been long supposed to be of an unknown edition. It is in fact a part of the edition of 1516.

I need scarcely add that Dr. Lingard was quite right when he spoke of the York missal as being "extremely rare." It is second only to the Hereford. But he is in error when he adds "it is doubtful whether any perfect copy exists, except the one preserved at Cambridge in the library of St. John's college."

There is no evidence that the missals of Bangor and Lincoln were ever printed; at least no record or trace of either has been discovered.

CHAPTER V.

THE next and the last book in the archbishop's constitution is the Manual; of which Lyndwood says: "*Manuale*, sic dictum a *manu*, quia assidue habetur ad manum, et in eo continebuntur omnia quæ spectant ad sacramentorum, et sacramentalium ministrationem. Item benedictiones tam fontium quam aliorum secundum usum ecclesiasticum benedicendorum." The statute does not make mention of the processional, and Lyndwood goes on to say that under the title of manual it also is included. But as they certainly were distinct, and the object of the canonist was rather to prove the necessity of furnishing under this order all requisite service books, I shall first speak of the manual by itself and presently of the processional.

The explanation which Lyndwood gives is in a general way sufficiently correct: the manual does contain the offices and rites and ceremonies, which the parish-priest in the discharge of his ordinary duties would be called upon to perform. In it were to be found the orders for baptism, matrimony, visitation of the sick, churching of women, extreme unction, and burial. But besides these were also many others, which would be less frequently re-

quired; as well as portions of the mass upon great occasions, with which were mingled some important solemnities. But I can give no better account of the manual than its own table of contents will supply taken from an edition in 4to., of which the title is "Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis: Rothomagi recenter impressum, necnon multis mendis tersum atque emundatum typis Nicholai Rufi, M.D. xliij." At the end: "¶ Explicit manuale ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis, tam in cantu quam in litera diligentissime recognitum: et nusquam antehac elimatius impressum. In quo ea quæ servat ecclesiasticus ritus ordine congruo connectuntur. Excusum Rothomagi," &c.

The table of contents is:—

De purific. mulierum.[33] xlv.
Ordo sponsalium.[34] xlvj.
Servitium peregrinorum. lviij.
Benedictio ensis novi militis. lxiij.
Benedictio carnium in die paschæ. lxiij.
Benedictio carnis, casei, butyri, ovorum sive pastillarum pasch. lxiiij.
Benedictio novorum fructuum. eodem.
Benedictio ad omnia quæcumque volueris. eodem.
Benedictio seminis. eodem.
Benedictio pomorum in die S. Jacobi apostoli. eodem.
Benedictio elemosynæ. lxv.
Benedictio scuti et baculi ad duellum. eodem.
Benedictio oculorum infirmorum. lxvj.
Benedictio navis. eodem.
Benedictiones mensæ, et gratiarum actiones. lxvij. et lxviij.
Servitium includendorum. lxix.
Præfationes. lxxv. et lxxvj.
Canon cum rubrica a novo incipientibus commodissima. lxxviij.
Ordo ad visitandum infirmum. lxxx.
Extrema unctio. xciij.
Commendatio animarum. cj.
Rubrica de vigil. mortuorum. cxij.
Vigiliæ mortuorum.[35] cxiij.
Psalmi cantandi in commendatione animarum. cxxix.
Missa pro defunctis. cxxxiiij.

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[33] "Ordo ad purificandam mulierem post partum." Edit. Douay, 1604.

[34] "Ordo ad faciendum sponsalia, sive matrimonium." Douay, 1604.

[35] "Preces post egressum animæ." Douay, 1604.

Some of the above offices although more properly they belong to the missal, as the canon and the votive masses, or again to the pontifical, as the order of confirmation, were yet generally included in the manual during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the convenience and instruction of the parish-priest. They are in three editions now before me, all of 1554.[36] But after the revision of the service

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[36] Viz. "Londini, Kingston et Henricus Sutton impress." (in the colophon.) "Londini recenter impressum." (Title.) And "Londini nouiter Impressum." (Title.) All these are in 4to., and so alike that only a careful comparison with the different copies actually before one will prove that they are not of the same edition. Separately, the best practised could not say to which the sheets of an imperfect copy would belong. They are exactly similar in type, in paper, in arrangement: and more than this, not only do the catchwords correspond in almost every page, but where owing to some error corrected it happens that they do not, the succeeding page by management is made to take up the agreement again. The like object was aimed at in other books of the same period, and there are many of which several

books of the western Church which followed the council of Trent some of these were omitted: and a more exact arrangement and distribution followed. This was observed in two editions of the "Manuale ad usum Sarum" published at Douay, in 4to. 1604, and 8vo. 1610. I need scarcely say that these two volumes were intended for the use of the priests and congregations who did not at that date conform to the reformed church of England. They place first the orders of baptism, churching of women, marriage, visitation of the sick, extreme unction, and burial; after which come the order of confirmation and seventeen offices of benediction. The rest of the manual, as it was fifty years before, is omitted. The edition of 1610 adds a few pages of notes; and I believe is the last authorised edition printed of the manual which with some variations

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editions were put forth, all so alike that bibliographers who have examined them apart have set them down as belonging to one and the same edition. For example: Bonner's *Necessary doctrine*, and *Homilies*, and bishop Watson's *Holsome doctrine*. Or, the common Prayer books of Edward the sixth. There are two editions dated in the month of June, 1549: and Grafton and Whitchurch printed, each, two in folio of 1552. It may be said that all this is of little or no importance: but it is not so. The fact of more than one edition of any book proves the demand for it and its popularity. Again, the editions may look the same exactly because the type, and pagination, and signatures, and catchwords are so; but in fact very considerable differences may exist. This is remarkably the case with the *Necessary doctrine* of bishop Bonner. The second edition contains a table of errata *corrected*, which is not to be found in the first. And, once more, the common error of supposing only a single edition of a book to have been published (I do not hesitate to speak without doubt in the hope that more care may be taken for the future) has led to the throwing out of so-called duplicates from public libraries.

the church of England had used for a thousand years.

The table given above, full as it is and much more so than of the later editions, is not to be understood as exactly corresponding to the contents of all the early manuals. It omits for example one very important part which is seldom however to be found in them after 1520. I mean the Greater form of excommunication. As I propose to give this form entire in the present work I think it unnecessary to do more here than notice the circumstance.

The book of occasional offices was, if I mistake not, always known in England by the name of manual: but abroad there were other names given to it, which require a brief mention.

The most usual of these was Ritual; rituale or liber ritualis; and with this was sometimes joined the manuale, as for example: "Rituale seu manuale ecclesiæ Catalaunensis" (Chalons), 1649. And it is this title which the Roman catholic church has adopted of late years: rituale sacramentorum Romanum.[37]

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[37] "Rituale Romanum a ritibus in eo descriptis, nomen desumpsisse concordant omnes DD. et ipsamet etymologia satis docet, eo pacto, quo *missale* a missa, *sacramentarium* a sacramentis, *processionale* a processionibus, et alia hujusmodi volumina derivationem traxere a rebus in iisdem descriptis et explicatis. . . . In ecclesia Catholica nomen hoc *Rituale* præcipue invaluit tempore Pauli V. tunc quando (anno sc. 1614) jussit ex antiquis præscriptis cæremoniis ab ecclesia apostolica non discrepantibus volumen unum confici, in quo sacri ejusdem ecclesiæ ritus in sacramentorum administratione, aliisque ecclesiasticis functionibus servandi comprehenderentur, illudque *Rituale Romanum* appellari mandavit." Baruffaldus, *ad rit. Rom. comm.* tit. 1. cap. 1.

Sometimes the book was called Agenda; and this of course in quite a different meaning from that in which the term was (very anciently) applied to the holy communion:[38] thus we have, "Agenda parochialium ecclesiarum Argentinensis diœcesis" (Strasburg). Again and further explained in the title: "Agenda, seu rituale Osnabrugense, 1653." Again, a book of which there is a copy in the Cambridge university library: "Agenda S. Coloniensis ecclesiæ: hoc est, liber pastoralis, in quo continentur omnia quæ in sacramentis administrandis—officium spectant," 4to. Colon. 1637.

Another title was Sacramentale; of which Zaccaria gives three examples, all of churches in Italy: and one of Sacramentarium.[39] Much more usual was Pastorale: as, "Pastorale ecclesiæ sive diœcesis Gandavensis" (Ghent), 1640. Or more fully, of

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[38] Ducange, *Glossarium.* The *Agenda mortuorum* occurs repeatedly in the antiphoner of St. Gregory; and compare the ninth canon of the council of Carthage, A.D. 397: "Ab universis episcopis dictum est: quisquis presbyter inconsulto episcopo agenda in quolibet loco voluerit celebrare, ipse honori suo contrarius existit." Labbe et Cossart, tom. 2. col. 1162. See also Bona, *rer. liturg.* lib. 1. cap. iij. The notes to the folio edition cite an important place out of Bede, *Vita S. Augustini Cantuar. episc.*: "Per omne sabbatum a presbytero loci illius agendæ eorum solemniter celebrantur." Those who remember how much hangs upon the full meaning of τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν will not regret having their attention turned to this extract. "Facere," I need scarcely add, also signifies to offer, as in the famous place of Tertullian, *de corona*, "pro natalitiis annua die facimus." *Opera*, p. 102.

Agenda seems to be a title used frequently on the continent for "ritual" or "manual," since 1500. See Daniel, *Codex liturg.* pp. 155, 158.

[39] *Bibl. ritualis*, tom 1. p. 156.

Mechlin, in a copy before me: "Pastorale, sive canones et ritus ecclesiastici, qui ad sacramentorum administrationem aliaque pastoralia officia rite obeunda pertinent," 1589. In the ancient catalogue of the Durham books we find "Pastoralis, eximius liber." But this could not have been a manual, for it is among books headed, "Hii sunt libri qui leguntur ad collationem."[40] So there is a "Liber pastoralis" among the books which William bishop of Durham gave to St. Cuthbert's church. We know nothing which will enable us to decide what this particular book was.

Once more; another title was Obsequiale: of which I remember only one example; printed in 1487 at Augsburg for the use of the church of that diocese. This contains the usual offices which are in the manuals and rituals.

The manual cited above, printed at Douay 1604, has a name in its colophon which was also occasionally in use by itself as a title, namely, Institutio: "Hæc sacra institutio baptizandi, et alia quædam sacramenta et ritus ecclesiasticos administrandi," &c. With the same meaning we have "Institutio parochorum, recognita et edita jussu D. Petri, arch. Viennensis," 1586: and again; "Institutio catholica, quam manuale vocant, edita auctoritate D. Eustachii Parisiensis episcopi," 1552.

Lastly, besides all these which contain under such various titles the same offices there is one other book, which seems to be that which Lyndwood explains (though I cannot but think erroneously) to be the manual intended in the archbishop's constitution.

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[40] *Catalogi veteres librorum,* Surtees society, p. 9.

Whether parishes were bound under that statute to furnish also the processional which is not specifically named, either in the same volume with the manual or separately in another, is not the point I am enquiring into and admits of dispute: for it certainly was not necessarily nor usually included in it. Lyndwood says, after the word "*Benedicendorum*" in the passage cited p. lxxxvij, "et hic, in hoc loco, manualis nuncupatione, puto etiam contineri ea quæ sunt usitata in processionibus ecclesiasticis quandocunque fiendis; ut sic etiam liber processionalis dicatur manuale, licet hic de eo non fiat mentio specialis."

But the Sacerdotale does answer to these requisitions; in it are not only the contents of the manual or ritual but also of the processional, and some other books besides. A copy is now lying before me, "Sacerdotale secundum usum S. R. ecclesiæ," Venetiis, 1558. This contains (the full table would occupy many pages) several treatises and prefaces at the beginning, followed by the offices of the sacraments and occasional rites, with disquisitions and rules and resolutions of difficult cases; then the various benedictions; a full processional; a calendar and computus and explanations; a treatise on the chanting and church-music; and lastly, exorcisms and popular sermons on the great festivals. In short, the contents fully bear out the promise of the title of the book, a title very different from the manual: "in quo non solum omnium sacramentorum quæ a sacerdotibus fieri possunt, officia: verum etiam resolutiones omnium dubiorum ad ea pertinentium, et excommunicationum canones, cum brevi illarum et absoluta declaratione ex sacris doctoribus

collecta, multaque alia sacerdotibus valde utilia atque necessaria continentur."[41]

CHAPTER VI.

HAVING now gone through and attempted to explain the list of service books ordered in the constitution of archbishop Winchelsey, our next step is to notice those which are mentioned in the other statutes which I cited. And among these the Breviarium claims the first place.[42]

I am called upon to make some remarks upon the breviary in another part of these volumes: here I shall repeat that the word itself occurs for the first time in Micrologus, an author of about A.D. 1080. Some say that it was so called as containing not merely an arrangement but an abbreviation of the Divine offices; probably both reasons may have had their influence on the name. However this may be, the breviary in its full and settled state, say from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, contained the whole offices of the canonical hours throughout the year; of the great festivals, the saints' days, the sundays, and the week-days. These were arranged under their respective days, with rubrics directing to certain prayers, hymns, or

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[41] Other names for the same volume occur, though instances are rare and they simply require notice; namely, Mitralis, as Zaccaria observes "singulare nomen;" "Œconomia domus Domini;" "Ordo;" "Libellus officialis;" and lastly, with more propriety, "Parochiale." Vide *Bibl. ritual.* tom. I. 155.

[42] Vide p. xix, synod of Worcester.

psalms which occurred frequently, or to the psalter which formed a portion of the volume. The rubrics of breviaries in manuscript will be found to vary much in their fulness as they happen to have been written for the use of churches or monasteries of which the ordinals had been drawn up. Thus some would have but very few; others again as many in comparison. Not that we are to suppose, by any means, that the existence of an ordinal always led to the omission of rubrics in the breviary; for the ordinal itself might be more or less complete, and both might continue to give with relation to certain parts of the office what we may call duplicate directions.

The first edition which was printed of the Sarum breviary was at Venice: "Venetiis per Raynaldum de Nouimagio, M.CCCC.LXXXIII," in folio. The last (I believe) at Paris in 12mo., 1556, of which the second volume, *Pars estivalis*, is dated 1557. Soon afterwards the breviaries of other churches began, for convenience sake, to be printed in four volumes divided into "Pars hiemalis," "verna," "æstiva," and "autumnalis."[43] But the breviaries of the English Church never exceeded two volumes: the *hiemalis* and *estivalis*. If in one volume (if I mistake not) always in folio; in two, they ranged from small folio, through 4to. and 8vo. sizes, to the duodecimo. I speak of them as we now should according to their size, not according to their signatures which commonly ran in eights.

[43] In each of these parts, and so also of the Sarum breviaries if in two volumes, are repeated the psalter, the canon if included, the commune sanctorum, &c. Indeed otherwise the separate volumes would be useless.

Here, as I am upon the size of the breviary, seems to be the proper place to speak of the Portiforium; with its various English names, of porteau, portuary, portuis, portuasse, porthoos, and portfory.[44] There can be no doubt that the printed breviary in folio of the use of Sarum is of the highest rarity. Such books naturally would be so: they were intended for the public use of churches, and in almost every case having been purchased by them would have been less likely to escape the severe edicts which so frequently were aimed not merely at their mutilation but total destruction. Neither Herbert nor Gough mentions an edition in folio, and therefore we must conclude knew not of the existence of any. This might account somewhat for the error of the latter, where he says that the portiforium "like the breviary was a commodious

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[44] The various modes of spelling this word in English seem to be limited only by the number of letters and the changes which they can suffer. We have one example of "porteux" in an inventory attached to a lease of the manor of Hampton court to cardinal Wolsey in 1514, preserved in the British museum, Cotton MS. Claudius E. vj. fol. 1347.

Greene in his play of *Friar Bacon,* written about the year 1590, uses the word with reference not to the right book, the breviary, but to the manual. So soon had the proper meaning of the word been lost. I quote the passage here, however, for the sake of another style of spelling:—

"*Bungay.* Well, Lord of Lincoln, if your loves be knit,
I'll take my portace forth and wed you here."
Sc. vj.

And, once more, we find "ij porteres" among the books belonging to the church of St. Dunstan at Canterbury, in the year 1500. The inventory is printed in the *Gentleman's magazine* for Dec. 1837.

The old play or "morality" of *New custome* printed in 1573 has "portuse." *Perverse doctrine* says,

"For even with this portuse
I will battre thy heade."

portable abridgment of the service." Such certainly are all the editions less than the folio, although it must be remembered that those in small folio (so-called) or thick 4to. are sufficiently bulky.

But Gough quotes Ducange, who says nothing of the sort for which he is appealed to. The one lays down that the printed portiforium was a portable book, the other that it was so called from having perhaps originally been so. Ducange says, "Vocis etymon ab eo quod foras facile portari possit accersendum opinor."[45] Here I fully agree with this very learned writer, and that the word as time went on was changed from its original signification until it came to be nothing more or less than a synonym of breviary.

Portiforium or, as sometimes spelt, portiphorium appears to have been a term adopted only in England. At least, in the catalogue of breviaries given by Zaccaria,[46] in which he says he has added to the already long list compiled by Fabricius,[47] no such title is quoted of any foreign use. The authorities also of Ducange are all English: his first, Ingulphus, is remarkable, as it shows that as soon as the name of breviary is to be found abroad so early also is the title portiforium at home.[48] The book is often spoken of in works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is not an unfrequent item[49] in

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[45] *Glossarium, verb.* Portiforium.

[46] *Bibl. ritualis*, tom. I. pp. 121–134.

[47] *Bibliotheca med. et inf. Latinit.* tom. I. p. 274.

[48] Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, was born A.D. 1030 and died in 1109. His words are, from the *Historia Croylandensis*, "Restituit monasterio nostro . . . unum portiforium de usu nostræ ecclesiæ, et unum missale," &c.

[49] I think it worth mentioning

monastic inventories, and forms a special gift in many ancient wills. As a late authority, let me

that in the complete list of service books, once belonging to the royal chapel at Windsor, the word breviarium does not occur; but portiforium five times; among which is "item unum magnum portiphorium, in duobus voluminibus." Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1363.

In the will of bishop Langley, dated 1436, he gives "domino Ricardo Corston . . . unum portiforium:" soon after, in the same will, "Thomæ Jobur, clerico . . . unum portiforium parvum." *Catalogi veteres* (Surtees society), p. 120. Contrasted with this is the book mentioned in the inventory of the priory of Durham, anno 1446: "Item unum portiforium magnum." *Wills and inventories*, p. 91. And, "Item aliud portiforium magnum et grossum." *Catalogi veteres*, p. 135. Once more, from the York wills, an extract which is important also as showing that laymen were accustomed to say their matins and vespers out of their own books. Lord Scrope bequeaths "item Rogero filio meo predicto secundum missale meum, cum porteous meo quo usus fui ad dicendum matutinas meas et vesperas."

The portiforium under various names is often mentioned in the wills of priests.[1] For example, from the registry of Bury St. Edmund's: in 1396 Robert Stabeler, priest, bequeaths his "magnum portiforium notatum." This must have been a large service book, as he orders that it should be placed in the choir on holy days "ad deserviendum ibidem." In 1503 Christopher Sekker, priest, leaves "myn portoose." In 1509 "syr William Taylour," priest, bequeaths his "whyte portos coueryd with whyte ledyr to the chapell in the college." Many of the wills in the Bury St. Edmund's registry have been edited for the Camden society; and it is to be regretted that the editor, Mr. Samuel Tymms, in his notes explains the portiforium to be "a book containing the antiphonal service, sometimes accompanied with musical notes."

Lionel, duke of Clarence, who died in 1368, leaves two or three things to his chaplain: "item,

[1] Chaucer tells us that the "portos" was used to swear upon: the monk says,—

"For on my portos here I make
an oath:"

and the merchant's wife replies,—

"The same again to you, quod
she, I say
By God and by this portos I
you swear," &c. l. 13061.

quote the instance of the unfortunate queen Mary of Scotland who immediately before she was barbarously murdered, whilst the dean of Peterborough gave the sanction of his presence and was offering up some long extempore prayer which he thought suited to such an opportunity, "performed her own private devotions out of her own portuary, sometimes in the Latin and sometimes in the English tongue."[50]

I have given an account of the contents of a

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eidem domino Johanni melius portiforium meum notatum." *Royal wills*, p. 88. The will of Cecily duchess of York, the mother of Edward the fourth, who died in 1495, is in Doctors' Commons: she says: "I geve to my doughter Cecill a portuous with claspes silver and gilte, and a grete portuous without note."

Among the wills in the York registry are several entries of gifts called "portiforium magnum notatum," or "magnum portiforium," and bequeathed for the use of the high altar in some parish church. Surtees society.

It is due to the Surtees society to mention with gratitude the services which they have rendered [1846] to every one interested in ritual and liturgical pursuits by their excellent publications, *The Durham ritual*, *Rites of Durham*, *Catalogi veteres*, and *Wills and inventories*. The learned editor of the catalogues has not ventured himself to explain what the books are, which occur so often in his volume, but quotes a *History of north Durham*, by the Rev. J. Raine, who has given (it seems) a short account of them there. As in Mr. Tymms' case, we must again regret that this has been done; for such explanations as the following are worse than useless. They repeat the mischievous errors which I have spoken of already at some length. "*Ordinarium*. The book of daily or common Prayer." "*Portifer*, *portiforium*: a book of the same nature as the ordinarium above, only of a smaller and more portable size." Preface to *Catalogi veteres*, p. xliv. Such extracts are unworthy of that learned society, by way of illustrating really useful compilations.

[50] Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 76.

Salisbury breviary in the preface to the *English prymer*, in this work: and I think it only necessary here to add that the breviaries of the churches of Hereford and York were also printed.

In the statute cited above (p. xix) of Quivil, bishop of Exeter, three service books are enjoined not mentioned in Winchelsey's constitution: viz. the "venitare," "ymnare," and "collectare." Of these the second only was printed: and I do not know whether the others are anywhere extant in manuscript. In the absence therefore of actual copies of these books we must to some extent have recourse to conjecture. A venitare is among the books of a chapel in the list printed in the appendix to this dissertation, which seems to have contained also the intonations. Ducange quotes the synod of Exeter [51] (the only authority which he gives), and explains the venitare to be "liber ecclesiasticus, in quo descriptus psalmus cum notis musicis, *Venite exultemus Domino*, &c. quo matutini incipiuntur." There can be little doubt that the invitatories were

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[51] About fifty years after bishop Quivil's time we are indebted to the same diocese of Exeter for another example of a venitare or venitarium. It occurs in the statutes of bishop Grandisson for St. Mary Ottery: "In inceptione vero ultimæ pulsationis ad matutinas, quando de nocte dicuntur, unus de clericis ecclesiæ unam candelam in sconsa vel boetta accensam ponat super gradum chori cum libro venitario, ita quod ante inceptionem invitatorii lumen sit ibi semper paratum unde possint accendi aliæ etiam candelæ pro choro." Oliver, *Monast. Exon.* p. 273.

It is a proof of the very unfrequent occurrence of the title *Venitare* that the learned editor of the *Exeter Monasticon*, than whom few men of his time had read and examined more documents written in or relating to the middle ages, has inserted in his copy of this statute a conjectural and unnecessary emendation; "(invitatorio ?)."

in this book, and I cannot but think that other parts of the canonical hours might occasionally have been written in the same volume, which nevertheless continued to retain its early name; in the same way as the antiphoner and the gradual contained respectively much more than the antiphons, strictly so called, and the graduals. Had the word occurred in a list of books belonging to or used by some great religious establishment, and not in a statute providing for the service of parish churches, we might at once have settled the venitare to have been what Ducange explains it, and nothing more: for we know that monasteries and cathedrals for the greater splendour of their services divided the office, whether of the hours or of the mass, among very many volumes. But to purchase these would have been impossible and certainly useless for small parish churches.

Again, it might have been thought that by the venitare the antiphoner under the name of one of its constituent parts might be meant: but the antiphoner is ordered also in the same statute. From an instance (among the very rare ones which we can refer to) of a venitare in actual use, it is certain that other parts of the service were included in it: this book is among those which in king Edward the first's reign were in the church of St. Faith, beneath St. Paul's: and although called a venitare it began with the legend of St. Faith, and contained also a hymnal.[52]

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[52] Dugdale, *hist. of St. Paul's*, p. 233. edit. 1658. It is just possible (I merely would suggest it) that a grand manuscript in the library of St. John's college, Cambridge, is a venitare; it

For one reason, I am under the same difficulty in explaining the Collectare; namely, that it has not been printed and I do not remember to have seen such a book in manuscript. I mean a copy about which there can be no doubt. For example, in the library of the British museum[53] is a volume, the first part of which is a martyrology (I believe of Sarum use); and the second part contains a large number of collects of matins, vespers and the hours, followed by those of the mass. This at least answers to what I shall presently prove might have been the character of the book; because, whether this particular copy be a collectare or not, we can arrive much nearer certainty with respect to its contents than we are able with the venitare. It was also called collecteria, collectarius or collectarium, collectorium, collectaneum, and collecta. Ducange defines it to be "liber ecclesiasticus, in quo collectæ ad quævis officia dicendæ continentur."[54] He refers for his authority to a chapter in the Cluniac consuetudinary where it is said, "in privatis autem noctibus habentur in collectaneo hæ collectæ quæ dicendæ sunt ad nocturnos, et laudes," &c.

But we must not limit the contents of this book to the collects of those offices only which were said

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contains (as appears from a very hasty examination which I was enabled to make) the invitatories, some responses, &c. of certain offices, fully noted. The MS. is at least to be admired for its great size; every letter is three quarters of an inch in length, and the initial is seven inches.

[53] Bibl. Reg. MS. 2. A. xiij. The Harleian MS. 2961 contains a great number of collects, but also antiphons and capitula. At the end some hymns. Altogether, more miscellaneous. It is very early; of the tenth century.

[54] *Glossarium, verb.* Collectaneum.

at the canonical hours: whether the collects of the occasional offices, such as of baptism or extreme unction, &c., were included or not, or meant to be so in the Exeter statute, certainly in some copies the collects of the liturgy were. When Zaccaria wrote a very ancient book was preserved in the great Benedictine library at Cologne, of which the title was, "In Christi nomine incipit collectarius compendiose digestus, cum capitulis per singulas horas congrue dicendis, totius anni circulo immutabili divinitatis lege volvendo."[55] The "per singulas horas" would at first sight support the limit of Ducange; but Zaccaria continues, "Ex hoc enim vero codice collectas antiquas, quæ non exstant in breviariis et missalibus passim, selegit Schultingius, ediditque." Thomasius has published an orationale[56] which Zaccaria quotes thus, "vetus orationale etiam Thomasius vulgavit." And had it been so, I think from the similarity of the name and the probable contents of the collectare we might have considered it to be the same book. We should have in support of this conclusion a "liber orationum" which belonged in the year 1245 to the church of Peterborough, "ad magnum altare;" and which must have been a service-book and not a compilation of private prayers.[57] But the orationale of Thomasius is but a collection made by himself (and a most admirable one) of collects and prayers from various ancient sources, such as the sacramentaries of

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[55] *Bibl. ritualis*, tom. 1. 103. He mentions also another manuscript upon vellum, preserved in the treasury of the great church at Palermo. It is much to be wished he had given us an accurate account of it.

[56] *Opera*, tom. 2. p. 435.

[57] Gunton, *history of Peterborough*, p. 33.

Gregory and Gelasius, or manuscripts in the Vatican and other places, or the ordo Romanus.[58]

The collectare seems to have been a favourite book in England. It occurs among the books which, we learn from Matthew Paris, abbot Paul gave A. D. 1080 to the abbey of St. Alban's:[59] again the same writer tells us that abbot Geoffrey about fifty years after gave another collectarium.[60] In the reign of Richard the second there was "unum collectare novum" among the service books of St. George's chapel at Windsor.[61] In the year 1290 there were more than one in St. Paul's cathedral.[62] A. D. 1295, three collectaria were in the choir of Leicester abbey.[63] Hulne abbey, in Northumberland, possessed two collectoria.[64] It is a frequent item in the inventories of the registrum S. Osmundi: and is referred to in the ordinale of bishop Grandisson, fol. 18, among the proceedings to be observed in chapter: "et cæteræ preces quæ sequuntur in collectario." But not to heap up examples, we can trace it from the time of Leofric

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[58] The same must be said of the *Preces ecclesiasticæ* compiled by Cassander; *Opera*, pp. 301–448.

Nor do I agree with Dr. Lingard in calling the Durham ritual, except the first part of it, a collectare. (*Anglo-saxon hist.* vol. 2. pp. 359, &c.) It would easily settle the question to set down every book with collects for a collectare; and as he himself acknowledges, that volume might as rightly be named a capitulare. I would not change the title of the Durham ritual; for, heterogeneous as its contents are, there are many offices in it strictly belonging to the ritual, properly so called; and no other name can be so fitly given to it.

[59] Matt. Paris, p. 1003.

[60] *Ibid.* p. 1013.

[61] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 6. 1362.

[62] *History of St. Paul's*, p. 221.

[63] Nichols' *Leicestershire*, vol. 1. pt. 2. p. 101.

[64] *Catalogi veteres*, p. 134.

bishop of Exeter, who gave a collectaneum to his cathedral,[65] down to the days when inventories were taken for quite another purpose in the plundering reign of king Henry the eighth : one of which tells us that there was a "colett bok with bosses" in the monastery of St. Frideswide.[66]

The third book in the statute of bishop Quivil is the ymnare, or as it was commonly called in later days, the Hymnarium, or hymnal. I have already spoken of this book as included in several editions of the psalter, but there are also separate hymnals which contain the full notation. In these books the hymns are arranged in the order of the days upon which they would occur in the offices of the canonical hours; beginning upon advent sunday, and running through the temporale and sanctorale, with the commune apostolorum, &c. In short, following the arrangement of the breviary.

In an edition now before me, printed at Cologne in 1525, 4to., there are 122 hymns: and not only are these noted (as I have said) fully, that is, every word, but some which at certain seasons varied in their chant have these variations also given. Thus some are repeated twice, some four times, or six: and there are for one, "Jam lucis orto sidere," no less than twenty-four chants.

The title of two other editions in my possession, of Antwerp, 1541, and of Kingston and Sutton, 1555, both 4to., expresses well the contents of the

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[65] *Monasticon*, vol. 2. 527.

[66] *Monasticon*, vol. 2. 166. We have the following in the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Andrew's, Eastcheap, in 1512: "Item, payd for reparacion of the colett booke, v.*s*." This must have been a large volume or very much wanting "reparacion."

volume and the care taken in arranging the music: "¶ Hymnorum cum notis opusculum usui insignis ecclesie Sarum subseruiens: in quo quidem et illud imprimis est obseruatum, ut quælibet syllaba suam participet notam: id sane cum extrema manu curatum, ut singula singulis sibi correspondeant: suisque debitis rite coaptentur locis." On the reverse of the first page is the following short preface: "Quoniam multos in hymnis cantandis videmus jam deficere: istis in locis maxime ubi una clausula id est in uno pede ejusdem metri: habentur plures syllabæ quam in alia, cantantes semibreves in plana musica, id est, plano cantu, sicut in organo foret faciendum, quod est erroneum: dominam id est literam, ancillari: et ancillam id est notam, dominari: quod jam a jure quam ratione est penitus alienum. Ideo ad vitandum hujuscemodi defectus: et ne dissonantia in choro de cætero habeatur: sed ut quælibet syllaba habeat plenam notam exempla subsequentia antiquitus usitata: utiliter ut credimus facientes collegimus: et impressoribus ut in lucem prodirent commisimus."[67]

The hymnal may be considered as among the earliest books of the English Church; and no less necessary to the perfection of her worship than those which contained the collects and psalms.[68]

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[67] No. 558 of the Lambeth MSS. contains a psalter and hymnal; the latter has at the end, "Explicit ympnarium ecclesie Xti. Cantuariensis." Sm. 8vo.

[68] "Cum hoc in opusculo psalmi et cantica fuerint exhibita, æquum erat et hymnos non deesse. Apostolus enim docuit, psalmis, hymnis, et canticis spiritualibus nos exerceri." Thomasius, tom 2, Ad lectorem. This constant custom of the Catholic Church was only interrupted once for a short season by a canon of the first council of Braga, by which, for wise reasons springing from the abuse

It cannot be doubted that St. Augustine, with the breviary and missal recommended by St. Gregory, introduced also the hymnal then used at Rome. There have been many collections made not only of the more ancient hymns, but of those which were composed by pious members and fathers of the Church in succeeding ages. The earliest to whom hymns with any certainty are attributed is St. Ambrose, and from his time downwards, not forgetting our own Bede, they were continually added. Of these collections, those who wish for information on this important subject should especially consult the *Hymnarium*, compiled (from very early sources only) by cardinal Thomasius;[69] the *Hymni ecclesiastici*, collected and annotated by Cassander;[70] the *Hymni*, added by Guyet to his *Heortologia;*[71] these contain the more modern hymns also: the *Elucidatorium* of Clichtoveus,[72] and a modern commentary and most full collection, lately published

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of hymns by the Arians and other heretics, it was forbidden to use any in the Divine offices, unless they were taken out of Scripture. But they were permitted, when the danger had passed, by the 4th of Toledo; and by the 8th council of Toledo, A.D. 653, no one was to be ordained unless he knew the psalter, canticles, and daily hymns. Vide Merati, notes to Gavantus, *Thesaurus*, tom. 2. p. 117.

[69] *Opera*, tom. 2.

[70] *Opera*, pp. 149, 301.

[71] p. 507.

[72] A very rare work; of which the title fully expresses the nature and value of its contents: "Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum ad officium ecclesiæ pertinentia plane exponens, et quatuor libros complectens. Primus, hymnos de tempore et sanctis adjecta explanatione declarat. Secundus, nonnulla cantica ecclesiastica, antiphonas et responsoria, una cum benedictionibus candelarum, cerei paschalis, et fontium, familiariter explanat. Tertius, ea quæ ad missæ pertinent officium, breviter explicat. Quartus, prosas . . elucidat." Paris, 1558, fol.

in two volumes, the *Thesaurus hymnologicus* by Herm. Daniel.[73] After a comparison of a table of the hymns contained in the Sarum hymnal (which I give below)[74] with those included and explained in

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[73] This author says of Clichtoveus, "quum breviariis Italis, Gallicis et Hungaricis usus sit, opus ejus summo loco est habendum. Multus quidem est in annotationibus, sed non paucæ earum utiles sunt." Of Thomasius: "Hic liber in Germania satis rarus est, sed eo carere nullo pacto potest hymnorum sacrorum editor."

[74] *Tabula hymnorum, ad usum Sarum.* The hymns which are in Italic are not in the very copious volumes of Herman Daniel; who seems to have carefully examined the collections of other compilers. He refers to a little book, lately published at Oxford, *Hymni ecclesiæ*, as furnishing him with some Salisbury and York hymns: but this is a mere selection, and it is possible that Daniel was not aware of any hymnal of the English Church, or, if he was, could not obtain a copy to refer to. I should think the former, as he says of the Oxford book, "exoptatissimi erant hymni qui ex brev. Sar. et Ebor. desumpti sunt." A new edition of the Salisbury and York hymns is a book to be wished for.

"A solis ortus cardine.
A patre unigenitus.
Andrea pie sanctorum.
Ales diei nuncius.
Aurora jam spargit polum.
Audi benigne conditor.
Aurora lucis rutilat.
Ad cœnam agni providi.
Adesto sancta Trinitas.
Angulare fundamentum.
Ave maris stella.
Antra deserti teneris.
Aurea luce et decore.
Annue Christe sæculorum.
Ave mater Anna plena.
Bina cœlestis aulæ.
Beata nobis gaudia.
Bartholomæe cœli sidus.
Beate Symon et Thadæe.
Conditor alme siderum.
Christe redemptor omnium.
Consors paterni luminis.
Cœli Deus sanctissime.
Christe qui lux es.
Clarum decus jejunii.
Cultor Dei memento.
Crux fidelis inter omnes.
Chorus novæ Hierusalem.
Christe sanctorum decus.
Christe redemptor omnium.
Cœlestis formam gloriæ.
Collaudemus Magdalenæ.
Christi miles gloriosus.
Claro paschali gaudio.
Deus creator omnium.
Deus tuorum militum.
Doctor egregie Paule.
Æterne rerum conditor.

the works specified above the student will scarcely need more information.

Ecce jam noctis tenuatur.
Æterna cœli gloria.
Ex more docti mystico.
Ecce tempus idoneum.
Æterne rex altissime.
Exultet cœlum laudibus.
Exultet cor præcordiis.
Æstimavit hortulanum.
Festum matris gloriosæ.
Felix Anna præ aliis.
Hostis Herodes impie.
Jam lucis orto sidere.
Immense cœli conditor.
Jesu quadragenariæ.
Jesu salvator sæculi.
Jesu nostra redemptio.
Jam Christus astra ascenderat.
Jesu salvator sæculi.
Iste confessor Domini.
Jesu redemptor omnium.
Impleta gaudent viscera.
Jesu corona virginum.
Jesu dulcis memoria.
Jesu auctor clementiæ.
In Annæ puerperio.
Jam bone pastor Petre.
Impleta sunt quæ concinit.
Lucis creator optime.
Lux ecce surgit aurea.
Lustra sex quæ jam peracta.
Lætabundus exultet fidelis.
Magnæ Deus potentiæ.
Martyr Dei qui unicum.
Mundi salus affutura.
Matthia juste duodeno.
Nocte surgentes.
Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus.
Nox et tenebræ et nubila.
Nox atra rerum contigit.
O Pater sancte mitis.
O lux beata Trinitas.
O gloriosa femina.
O quam glorifica luce.
O sator rerum reparator ævi.
O nata lux de lumine.
O Thoma Christi perlustrator.
O nimis felix meriti.
O salutaris fulgens stella.
O Maria noli flere.
Primo dierum omnium.
Plasmator hominum Deus.
Pange lingua gloriosi prælium.
Pange lingua gloriosi corporis.
Quod chorus vatum.
Quem terra, pontus.
Rector potens verax.
Rerum Deus tenax vigor.
Rerum creator optime.
Rex gloriose martyrum.
Salvator mundi.
Sancte Dei pretiose.
Somno refectis artubus.
Splendor paternæ gloriæ.
Summæ Deus clementiæ.
Summi largitor præmii.
Sermone blando angelus.
Sanctorum meritis.
Sacris solemniis.
Te lucis ante terminum.
Telluris ingens conditor.
Tu Trinitatis unitas.
Tu Christe nostrum gaudium.
Tibi Christe splendor.
Tristes erant apostoli.
Vox clara ecce intonat.
Verbum supernum prodiens; a Patre.
Veni redemptor gentium.

I shall only add further an important letter of archbishop Cranmer to king Henry. He had been directed to draw up in English certain processions, to be used upon festival days; and in giving an account of his doings he adds, "if your grace command some devout and solemn note to be made thereunto, I trust it will much excitate and stir the minds of all men unto devotion and godliness: but in mine opinion, the song that shall be made thereunto would not be full of notes, but as near as may be, for every syllable a note; so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly, as be in the matins and evensong, *Venite*, the hymns, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, and all the psalms and versicles; and in the mass *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Gloria Patri*, the creed, the preface, the *Pater noster* and some of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. As concerning the *Salve festa dies*, the Latin note as I think is sober and distinct enough: wherefore I have travailed to make the verses in English, and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless they that be cunning in singing, can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof, to see how English would do in song."[75] Three dates (adds the editor) are given to this letter, 1543, 1544, 1545; of which the second is in his opinion the most probable. Barely five years after, Merbecke under the archbishop's patronage published the common Prayer book noted.

Vexilla regis prodeunt.
Veni creator Spiritus mentes.
Urbs beata Hierusalem.
Ut queant laxis.
Virginis proles opifex.
Verbum supernum prodiens: nec Patris."

[75] Cranmer's *Remains*, vol. 1. p. 315; Collier, vol. 2. p. 206.

A few words must still be said upon a book of which more than one edition was printed, viz. the Expositio hymnorum. I have a copy before me printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1517, 4to., of which the title is, *Expositio hymnorum totius anni secundum usum Sarum, diligentissime recognitorum, multis elucidationibus aucta.* Gough classes this among the service books, which is one reason I should notice it, but he is wrong, for it is not so: and he manages to throw in an insinuation,[76] as if the clergy of the day required such a book to comprehend the Latin which they sang, which is another and stronger reason why I cannot pass it by. We must remember, by way of excuse for him, that Gough wrote when no opportunity was to be lost of sneering at and maligning the "dark ages," among which the fifteenth and part of the sixteenth centuries were commonly included: indeed few authors would have been at that time tolerated, who upon such a subject omitted this sort of spice to season their absurdities. The expositio has no reference to the clergy and is merely a school book: written to supply a deficiency which was not much thought of in the schools of the enlightened eighteenth century, namely, of religious knowledge.[77]

The following is a specimen of the contents. The first verse of a noble hymn which used to be sung at matins: "Ales diei nuntius; lucem propinquam

[76] See above, p. xii.

[77] The book has a short preface in which the writer, after saying that boys should not know more about Æneas and Dido than of the sacred history, adds this commendation of the then masters of English schools: "Vos Anglicani præceptores in primis laudo: qui non sic literas colitis ut religionis obliviscamini." Can we say this, now?

præcipit: nos excitator mentium: jam Christus ad vitam vocat." "¶ Materia hujus hymni est exhortatio Christi ad nos, ut surgamus vitiis, et adhæreamus virtutibus: et præmittit exemplum de gallo. Sicut enim gallicantus nos excitat vel vocat lucente die, sic Christus excitat mentes nostras et vocat nos per scripturas sacras, prænuntians quod est venturus judicare super justos et injustos. Unde bene dicitur: surgite et vigilate, quia nescitis diem neque horam, &c. ¶ Construe. Ales, i. (*id est*) gallus nuntius diei, præcipit .i. prædicit lucem .i. diem, nobis propinquam Christus excitator mentium: scilicet nostrarum vocat jam nos ad vitam .i. nunc vocat nos ad se."[78]

In the Peterborough catalogue are two entries of a book about which it is scarcely possible to decide whether it was an expositio hymnorum as just described or a commentary upon them of a higher class, like the *Elucidatorium* of Clichtoveus; I should suppose the latter. This book is the Hymnarius glosatus.[79] I am perhaps hardly justified in alluding to it at all, as it was in no sense a service book or ritual; but in this, as in one or two other cases, I have been anxious to notice anything which would seem to throw light upon the subject.

We may reasonably conclude that the Liber canticorum, ordered in the twenty-first of the canons of Ælfric cited above, p. xvi, contained, besides the canticles, the hymns which were then used in the

[78] The *Expositio* of 1517 is certainly one of the most carelessly printed of Wynkyn de Worde's books. The types and appearance are, as usual with that printer, excellent; but it is full of typographical errors.

[79] Gunton, *Hist. Peterborough*, pp. 189, 205.

Anglo-saxon churches. The more modern hymnals did not include the canticles, which were in later times added to the psalter: the hymns alone would be quite sufficient in number, especially if noted, to form a volume. They may be seen in the collection by Thomasius, compiled from ancient sources.

In the same canon are the Liber epistolarum, and Liber evangeliorum, which have already been spoken of, and will again come before us under their more common titles of Epistolare and Evangelistarium. In Ælfric's time the missal had not arrived at its complete state, and many separate volumes were necessary for all churches.

The Passionale likewise ordered by Ælfric contained the lections of the sufferings and acts of the saints and martyrs:[80] these were afterwards, as we have seen, included in their proper order in the lectionary or legenda of later ages, though in the time of which I am now speaking this latter title seems to have been rather appropriated to the lections from the canonical books. Other names for the passionale were passionalis and passionarium: and Zaccaria[81] mentions some copies still extant in libraries abroad. The same writer in another work[82] says that it was also called Sanctorale; but

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[80] Durand, *Rationale*, lib. vi. cap. i. 29: "Passionarius est liber continens passiones sanctorum, et legitur in festis martyrum." Compare also Ducange, *Glossarium*. The passional was among the books given to the cathedral at Exeter by bishop Leofric; according to the note in his missal in the Bodleian. In that library there is an English passional of the eleventh century; MS. Douce, 174.

[81] *Bibl. ritualis*, tom. 1. p. 101.

[82] *Thesaurus theologicus*, tom. 1. p. 434. A rare and very valuable work.

he gives no example ; and I should rather conjecture this latter to have been a sort of Golden legend, or Lives of the saints.

There were possibly passionals of another kind in the Anglo-saxon Church, as there certainly were in later times, which contained only the history of the Passion of our blessed Lord from the four gospels: but I do not suppose this to have been meant in the archbishop's canon. Such was that which is described in the supplement to Ducange: ' Passionaire appellatur, liber passionem Christi ex evangeliis complectens, in inventar. S. Capel. Paris." And again, there is such an one still preserved in the library of the university of Cambridge (Hh. 1. 4), containing the whole history of our blessed Saviour's passion divided into sixty-five parts or sections, with a short prayer between each, referring to and grounded upon the various details.[83] So, once more, we have apparently both these passionals included in a copy preserved at Messina, described by Zaccaria; the first volume of which contains the legenda sanctorum for January, February, and March, to which are added "lamentationes, et lectiones in cœna Domini, in parasceve, et sabbato sancto."

The passional continued to be used in the English Church and is to be met with frequently in ancient inventories; for example, in St. Paul's, A.D. 1295, there were five.[84]

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[83] In the same library, Ii. 3. 30 has much the character of a passionale: it contains many lives and passions of the saints, divided into lections. In the thirteenth century there were in the church at Glastonbury seven volumes, called *passionalia mensalia;* this was no doubt a complete series for the year. See *John Glaston. chron.*, Hearne, p. 436.

[84] See also the Surtees society's *Catalogi veteres*, p. 29, and p. 54.

Ælfric orders also the Pœnitentiale. This volume gave full directions and laid down rules by which the parish-priest was to impose penance suitable to the offence and admit the penitent to reconciliation. In the early ages this was a book much insisted on, and various penitentials were drawn up and authorised by the rulers of the Church. Among them none was more famous than that of Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, which has been more than once published;[85] and either this or another known as the penitential or "scrift-boc" of Egbert archbishop of York was probably the book intended in the canon. This also has been lately republished.[86]

In the British museum among the royal MSS. is a "Liber pœnitentialis;" of the early part of the fourteenth century.[87] A short description of this will not be out of place. It begins: "Nunquam

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[85] Lately in the second volume of Thorpe's *Ancient laws and institutes.*

[86] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. I. p. 113, and by Thorpe, vol. 2, who calls it, not improperly though by a less usual name, the confessionale; p. 239.

[87] 7. E. I. Another, later; Cotton MS. Faustina, A. viij. This penitential is stated to have been compiled by Bartholomew bishop of Exeter A.D. 1162. And I am enabled to answer a question in the negative, proposed by the author of the *History of Leicestershire.* In the valuable catalogue which he has given us in his first volume, of the books which belonged to the abbey of Leicester, no less than ten penitentials occur and among them one of Bartholomæus. In a note is, "*Query, Brixiensis?* who commented on the decretals." Certainly, not: the penitential of bishop Bartholomew is the one intended.

This penitential particularly was a favourite compilation after his time. Two copies are mentioned in the Peterborough catalogue, Gunton, pp. 179 and 183. The first of these is entered, "Liber penitentiale sive pastorale magistri Bartholomæi Exon. episcopi." And this title pastorale so applied will induce us to hesitate before we decide that other books so called in England

nimis docetur aut scitur quod cum salutis discendio (*sic*, f. dispendio) tacetur et ignoratur. Studeant itaque sacerdotes omnibus innotescere, et mala cum quibus et bona sine quibus nemo salvari potest." It then proceeds to lay down rules fortified from the fathers and councils: "De malis innotescendis;" "de bonis et malis;" "de fide;" "de spe;" "de pœnitentia;" "de confessione," &c.; "de vigiliis, genuflexionibus, verbere," &c.; and one of great importance to our present subject, "de sacerdotum sententia." I shall quote a part of this: "Quæ ipsis sacerdotibus necessaria sunt ad discendum: j. liber sacramentorum: lectionarius: baptisterium: compotus: canon: pœnitentiale: psalterium: omeliæ per circulum anni dominicis diebus et singulis festivitatibus aptæ. Ex quibus omnibus si unum defuerit, sacerdotis nomen vix in eo constabit: quia valde periculosæ sunt minæ evangelicæ quibus dicuntur, Si cæcus cæco ducatum præstet, ambo in foveam cadunt." After this come, "De vita et scientia sacerdotum;" "De levibus peccatis et eorum pœnitentia," &c.; and distinctions between the various kinds of crime, homicide, parricide, and other murders; adultery, incest, and fornication; theft, &c.

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during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were not penitentials. For example, in the same catalogue, p. 199, we have, "Liber pastorale a magistro I. de Deo compositus." Any doubt as to this appears to be cleared up by another copy which occurs soon after: "Pastorale magistri I. de Deo: tractatus de confessionibus." p. 210. Joining the fact of bishop Bartholomew's pastorale, which undoubtedly was a penitential, with this other book bound up with a treatise on confessions, I think that there is sufficient evidence to prove that in England by the pastorale was meant the penitential, and not (as we have seen was the case abroad) the manual. See above, p. xciij.

The chief authorities by which the sentences or rules are supported are the Nicene council, Bede, Theodore's penitential, the Roman penitential, of St. Gregory and of other popes; St. Augustin, St. Isidore; and many later councils.

The use of the penitential is well expressed by Morinus, as quoted by Ducange: "Interrogato confitente, confessor statim promebat librum suum pœnitentialem, quæsitoque in eo delicto, locum ei ostendebat, ut videret ipse agnosceretque, legitimam sibi imponi pœnitentiam." But its chief and primary intention was that penance should be imposed according to its regulations, and not solely at the discretion of the individual confessor; hence it was commanded in the capitular of Charlemagne that every priest should be well taught and thoroughly know his penitential.[88] And the sixth canon of the council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747, forbids any man to be ordained priest who has not such amongst his other learning; for how, it asks, can one discreetly enjoin penance to others unless he has previously applied himself to the study?[89] Lastly, I shall

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[88] Ducange, *Glossarium*.

[89] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. I. p. 95; Johnson, *eccles. laws*, vol. I. A.D. 747. The words of the text are "peccantibus discretionem pœnitentiæ indicare:" and Johnson jumps to a most unfounded and curious conclusion, which we should scarcely have expected from so learned a writer. "Here you see" (he says in a note) "for what purpose men in this age confessed their sins to the priest, viz. because he alone knew what penance was to be enjoined for every sort and degree of sin, not in order to obtain absolution." He adds: "Petit's collections, published with Theodore's penitential, are full of proof as to this point." But no references are given; much less proofs: which, with all submission, I believe would be impossible.

quote Bede who, directing the priest, thus explains the necessity for the penitential: "Præparet sibi pœnitentialem, qui hoc ordine secundum auctoritatem canonum ordinatur, ut discretiones omnium causarum investiget primitus, sine quibus rectum judicium non potest stare."[90]

There is one other book ordered by Ælfric, the Numerale, which I have no doubt (so ordered) was a calendar:[91] and probably it contained also full directions and rules for finding the moveable feasts, &c.[92] The word is not noticed either by Ducange or Carpentier; nor does Zaccaria seem to have been aware of any such volume used by the western Church, or indeed of its name. The numerale is one of the books which we find to have belonged to an abbot of Peterborough, A.D. 1215.[93]

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[90] Beda, *De remediis pecc.* cap. I. Strict injunctions on this point are laid down at the beginning of Egbert's penitential: of which the first is: "Oportet sacerdotem considerare peccatorum emendationem juxta sententiam episcopi, et non vereri potentes neque humiles, quin illis præscribat prout hic liber ei præscribit." Much information may be found in Morinus in his preface to the penitentials, and an admirable abstract of authorities in van Espen, *Jus ecc. univ.* part ii. sect. I. tit. vj. The following is cited by the latter: "Formula visitationis episcopalis interrogare jubet: 'Si habeat pœnitentiale Romanum, vel a Theodoro episcopo, vel a venerabili presbytero Beda editum, et secundum quod ibi scriptum est, interroget confitentem, et confesso pœnitentiam imponat.'" Regino, *de eccles. disciplinis*, lib. I. 95. (p. 17.)

[91] Johnson in his translation seems so certain of the fact, that not only does he translate *numerale* "the kalendar," but without the least note or notice of a difficulty; *Eccles. laws*, vol. I. A.D. 958.

[92] Labbe gives the original Anglo-saxon word, ᵹeꞃim; which Dr. Hickes explains, "apud veteres calendarium, fastos, ephemerida denotat." *Thes.* tom. I. p. 203.

[93] Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 29.

On the other hand, against the supposition that it was a calendar I am bound to add that a book with this title "Incipit numerale Willī de Montibus" is among the manuscripts of St. Peter's college, Cambridge. It begins: "Ingredientibus autem theologicam quædam compendiosa prælibanda sunt, ut competentius ad altiora fiat progressus:" and goes on briefly to explain in a numerical or tabular form certain theological dogmas, solving objections which might be raised against them. For example: *One* God, one faith, one church, one baptism:—*Two* things necessary to every priest, a good life, and knowledge:—*Three* virtues:—*Four* horns of the altar in the Apocalypse:—up to, *Twelve* articles of the faith, twelve hours of the day, &c. I leave it to the reader to decide whether such could have been the book intended by the archbishop. I think not.[94]

CHAPTER VII.

THE extract which I gave above, p. xxi, from the preface to the portiforium of 1544 forbids any one without licence to print a service-book, which it is somewhat surprising is not ordered in either of the canons or constitutions, viz., the Processional or Processionale. I am at a loss to guess with which of the other books it could have been included, nor do I remember any manuscript,

[94] This book was sometimes called Numeriale, if we may trust the correctness in this instance of the Peterborough catalogue, Gunton, *Hist.* p. 250.

either missal, manual, antiphoner or hymnal,[95] in which the rubrics and offices of processions are entirely contained. I say entirely because certain portions, in order to make sense of the whole and connect one service book with another, are given: but for the remainder we are referred to the processional by name, with the common formula "ut patet in processionali." Yet this book would seem to have been as much the business of the parishioners to provide as the rest. And indeed we may conclude that it was so from an inventory of a church at Glastonbury A. D. 1421, which among the rest of the books specifies ".j. processional."[96]

The omission, if omission it is, is the more extraordinary because the constitutions of Winchelsey, and Peckham, and archbishop Gray, all order a processional cross (crux processionalis) to be furnished by the parish. And processions were not only to be used on the accustomed days, but certain other processions were from time to time appointed for special purposes, and litanies to be said, to propitiate the mercy and goodness of God. As, for example, in the constitutions of Othobon, A.D. 1248;[97] by archbishops Raynold and Islip, 1321 and 1349, and again by archbishop Bouchier in 1454.[98]

Again, the processionale or processionarium was

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[95] We should rather suppose it would be joined with the manual or sacerdotale, as described above. But in the MS. inventory of Exeter cathedral A. D. 1506 is, "Item parvum missale in processionibus celebrandis."

[96] Warner, *Hist. of Glastonbury*, appendix, xcix. The only useful part of this meagre and silly book.

[97] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 14.

[98] *Ibid.* tom. 2. pp. 507 and 752; tom. 3. p. 572.

a well-known book, and we find it often in the old inventories. In 1274, a processional was among the books of an abbot of Peterborough; of other abbots in 1299 and 1400.[99] In the inventory of the royal chapel at Windsor taken in Richard the second's reign are marked "xj processionalia:"[1] in the church of St. Frideswide's monastery, when it was suppressed, were "13 processioners;"[2] in the parish church of St. Andrew at Heybridge, in Essex, at the beginning of the sixteenth century were "2 prossessyonerse:"[3] of St. Mary Hill, London, in the year 1493, at least "viij processionaryes."[4] That it was a service-book required also in nunneries appears from a return made of the moveable property of Kilburn, a part of the "chirche stuff" of which were "four processions in parchment and one on paper:"[5] and a beautiful manuscript, in excellent condition, is in the library of St. John's college, Oxford; which was written for the abbey of Syon in Middlesex, with many rubrics in English, for "the sustres."

One of the statutes of the church of St. Mary Ottery in Devon shows us the necessity which existed of this book; and the care taken by the founder that the clergy should always be supplied: "33. Item statuimus quod quilibet canonicus residens et quilibet vicarius habeat per se unum processionale, ne in eundo et cantando mutuo impediantur vel se extransverso inordinate conjungant. Quæ

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[99] Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, pp. 39, 49.

[1] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 6. p. 1362.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. 2. p. 166.

[3] Nichols, *Extracts from churchwardens' accompts*, p. 175.

[4] Nichols, p. 91.

[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 3. p. 425.

processionalia remaneant semper successoribus uniuscujusque."[6]

But to pass on to the contents of the processionale. All those parts of the service were contained in it which strictly pertained to the procession: whether in the church from one part to another, or out of doors upon certain great and solemn occasions. In the copies which I have seen printed there is no calendar nor table of contents: but in some, usually at the end, an index of the proses, antiphons, offertories, and responses.[7] At the beginning is the office for the blessing of water: after which the "preces per adventum:" followed by the temporale throughout the year. Then comes the "Dedicatio ecclesiæ," and after that, the sanctorale. The volume ends with the order of processions upon extraordinary times and in seasons of distress, sickness, or other calamity.

To obtain some more exact idea of the nature of the processional we may refer to the rubrics for ascension-day: "In die ascensionis Domini ordinetur processio sicut in die paschæ excepto quod hac die vexilla processioni præcedant primo videlicet loco: deinde minor vexillum. Ultimo loco procedat draconis vexillum. Deinde inter subdiaconum et thuribularium duo de secunda forma capsulam reliquiarum simul deferant: qui cappis sericis sint induti. Ipse quoque diaconus in eundo reliquias deferat pro dispositione sacristæ. Præterea hac die procedat processio per ostium chori et ecclesiæ, exiens per

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[6] Oliver, *Monast. Exon.* p. 270.

[7] As in the editions 1544, and 1555, 4to. The antiphons, responses, etc. are noted throughout.

ostium occidentale circumeundo extrinsecus totam ecclesiam et atrium, intrando et per portam juxta cœmeterium canonicorum: circumeundo claustrum: et rediet in ecclesiam per idem ostium quo egressa est. Processio tamen prius ordinetur ad gradum chori per omnia ut subsequens pictura declarat. ¶ Tres clerici de superiori gradu in medio processionis in cappis sericis dicant prosam sequentem..... Per idem ostium quo egressa est processio regrediatur: usque ad crucem in ecclesia cantando hoc sequens respons. cantore incipiente hoc modo.... In introitu chori dicatur resp. ut sequitur."

The reader will observe that some particulars are directed which could only be observed in cathedral churches or monasteries: these of course would be altered and omitted according as necessity obliged in small parishes, in the same way as the corresponding rubrics of the breviary and missal. Occasionally the difference is provided for in the rubric: as at the beginning of the "preces per adventum:"[8] "¶ *Quando vero pervenerit processio ante magnam crucem in ecclesia, nisi fieri debeat statio,—statim post antiphonam vertat se sacerdos ad populum, et dicat in lingua materna sic:* Oremus pro ecclesia Anglicana, et pro rege nostro, et archiepiscopis . . . . et pro decano, *vel* rectore hujus ecclesiæ, *scilicet in ecclesiis parochialibus*," &c.

The "subsequens pictura" of the rubric refers to a small woodcut, of which there are several in some of the editions, representing the exact positions in which the priest and his assistants were to stand

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[8] This part of the office for advent is directed to be said on all sundays throughout the year.

or go on in procession. The priests are distinguished by copes and a bishop by his mitre; and the banners, and crosses, and thuribles are marked in their respective places.[9]

The printed processionals of Sarum or York use would in one important respect vary from the earlier manuscripts. The manuscripts would frequently contain the particular processions, and the orders and ceremonies to be observed in them, which were made at various times of the year from one church to another or to various parts of the town. Thus, at Durham "upon sancte Mark's daie, after easter, the prior with the monncks had a solemne prossession, and went to the Bowe church with ther prosession," &c.[10] So also they went to other churches at other times. It is evident that the printed books could not contain these rules, neither was it necessary that they should: but those only which were common to the province or the diocese.

The collections of Wilkins contain many orders for processions for various purposes: sometimes for thanksgivings; sometimes to appease the Divine wrath; and for other causes. On these occasions the inferior clergy were generally directed to wear surplices. Not unfrequently the consecrated eucharist was carried in the procession: as, for example, Walsingham says; "per idem tempus [1389] Cantabrigiæ in festo commemorationis S. Pauli, occurrebat

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[9] The edition of 1554 though it makes the usual reference to the "subsequens pictura" nevertheless omits the woodcuts. They are properly given in some other editions: for example, of 1531 and 1558.

[10] *Rites of the church of Durham*, p. 87. Several such are mentioned in county histories, and by writers on illustrations of ancient manners and customs.

et festum dedicationis sanctæ Mariæ ibidem, ad quod festum amplius honorandum, in processione per parochiam deferebatur corpus dominicum, super duos humeros sacerdotum in feretro non ponderoso," etc. Walter de Whytleseye also mentions among other gifts made by abbot Geoffry to his church of Peterborough, "unum vas argenteum et deauratum ad modum turris cum lapidibus impressis, et imaginibus sanctorum circumstantibus pro corpore Christi in principalibus festis ante processionem deportandum."[11] And once more, the following from Matthew Paris concerning Simon, abbot of St. Alban's, who gave a splendid shrine to his abbey: "Et ad perpetuandam ipsius cum benedictione memoriam, constituit ut in dominica palmarum, corpus Dominicum in ipso scrinio veneranter reponeretur, et ab aliquo fratrum moribus et ætate venerabili, in casula alba usque ad papilionem in cœmeterio de pretiosissimis pallis compositum, nisi inclementia auræ impediatur, et tunc in capitulum deportaretur, duobus fratribus in cappis, brachia bajulantis dictum vas, honorifice sustentantibus. Et eodem modo, sequente processione, ad ecclesiam venerantissime reportaretur."[12]

With regard to the processional banners which were carried in special solemnities, there is a curious question in some diocesan enquiries published in the year 1253: "An aliqui laici . . decertaverint de præeundo cum vexillis in visitatione matricis ecclesiæ."[13] On certain occasions the maniple was

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[11] Edit. Sparkes, p. 163; cf. p. 170.

[12] *Vitæ S. Alb. abbatum*, p. 1038.

[13] *Annal. Burton., script. Anglic.* tom. 1. p. 324.

ordered to be worn: I mention this, as the question has been much debated whether that ornament was to be used at any other office than the celebration of the eucharist. Roger Hoveden speaks of a procession appointed "cum sacerdote induto alba, et manipulo, et stola, et clericis in superpelliciis cum aqua benedicta, et cruce, præcedentibus candelabris, et thuribulo, cum igne, et incenso."[14] To walk in processions with bare feet was frequently directed: for example, in the laws of king Ethelred: "eat omnis presbyter cum populo suo ad processionem tribus diebus nudis pedibus."[15]

Penances were appointed to be done in processions: I quote two or three cases from archdeacon Hale's extracts from the act-books of the ecclesiastical courts of the diocese of London. A.D. 1480, no. xv: " . . penitentia injuncta, quod in toga et camisia, nudis pedibus, precedat crucem processionaliter, cum candela precii unius denarii, et quam offerret processione finita." A.D. 1476, no. xlj: "Johanna Talbot . . habet 3 dominicis precedere processionem nudis pedibus, in kirtela, capite flammiola nodata cooperto, in parochia S. Dionysii." A.D. 1496, no. ccvj: " . . dominus injunxit sibi quod præcedat processionem in ecclesia cath. S. P. sequentem le vergears, crucem ligneam manu ejus deferendam et secularem prædicatorem usque crucem, et ibidem maneat, quousque sermo finetur, crucem hujusmodi manus ejus tenendam." Clergymen also were presented for neglecting to attend processions; for example: "Clericus parochie ibidem

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[14] *Annal.* p. 348.

[15] Bromton, *Chron. script. X.* tom. 1. p. 902.

notatur, quod non pergit in processionibus generalibus ut tenetur, juxta antiquum morem." no. cclj. Compare no. ccccx.

Much information may be found in the fourth volume of Martene *de ritibus* with regard to processions, especially when receiving royal persons, or bishops, or carrying relics.

Passing by for the present the Prymer, I shall now turn to those books of which no notice is taken in either of the canons or constitutions above, or in the preface to the portiforium.

First, of the Pontificale:[16] in which were contained the order of the sacraments and other rites, some of which could only be performed by a bishop, and none except by those to whom special licence and commission were given. In it also were to be found the rules according to which the rubrics of the other service-books (as the missal, the manual, the processional) were to be altered when a bishop officiated. These latter were occasionally inserted in those service-books.[17]

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[16] This is the book of which early mention is made in the records of the Anglo-saxon Church. The second canon of the council of Chalcuith, A.D. 816, directs: "Ubi ecclesia ædificatur, a propriæ diœcesis episcopo sanctificetur; aqua per semetipsum benedicatur, spargatur, et ita per ordinem compleatur, sicut in libro ministeriali habetur." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. I. p. 169. "Liber ministerialis" seems to have been commonly used for pontifical in England in the ninth and tenth centuries.

[17] In the preface to the pontifical of archbishop Bainbridge, lately printed by the Surtees society, the editor says: "although it belonged to an archbishop of York, it cannot be called a pontifical of the use of York. The only sense in which the term 'Use' can be applied to pontificals or to the pontifical offices they contain is one which is common to them all, the 'Use

The pontifical of any Church is among the scarcest of its books existing: and this is no less true of those abroad than at home. After the council of Trent, and the general desire of the

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of England' as opposed to the 'Use of Rome' or the 'Use of France' and the like. . . . It was a serious matter to change the use of a diocese, if only from consideration of the expense of altering the service books of so many churches and chapels; but there was no such difficulty in the case of the special episcopal offices, which, as far as others besides the bishop were concerned, implied little more than perhaps a rearrangement of the choral parts and some changes in the ceremonial." p. viij.

Although hesitating to differ from one so learned in rituals as Dr. Henderson,—to whom also we owe a heavy debt of gratitude for the care and labour which he has spent in giving us so many excellent editions of the old English service books,—I am unable to agree with him in this statement: or, rather, I would say that he has stated his position in somewhat too strong a manner. It is quite true that there would be much more ease in changing the pontifical offices of any diocese than would be the case with the manual or the processional: and, of course, the authority of the bishop would be exercised with less objection, when he was merely adding or omitting a prayer or a ceremony in some episcopal rite. But, as a whole, it would seem that the pontifical of any English diocese—whether confined within its own limits or adopted also by other dioceses—was the same for many succeeding centuries; and did not vary in the chief offices (such as of ordinations or consecration of churches) with the incumbency of the bishop. Nor, even, was his power over the pontifical without control. The variations which undeniably exist among the old pontificals, regarded together with the agreement in the chief parts which is evident in all of them, show the extent of the liberty which they might take. I am still therefore disposed to speak of pontificals as being of the use of York or Exeter as the case may be, rather than by the name of him who might happen to have been the bishop at the time when the manuscript was written. But I leave the difficulty to the judgment of those who are far better able than myself to decide this question.

time, and the order which was published by pope Pius the fifth to bring into one uniform agreement the rites and ceremonies of all Churches which continued in communion with Rome, the Roman pontifical was of course widely adopted as well as the missal and the breviary.[18] If variations still were observed and allowed in those offices, they would be less likely to be so in the case of the pontifical: and I do not remember any printed edition except that according to the use of the church of Rome. Time has not spared the manuscripts which once must have been very considerable in number: they were subject also in many instances to more accidents than the other service-books, for commonly they were not the property of the church but belonged personally to the bishop. Hence they would pass into other hands upon death occurring, and in a generation or two be destroyed and forgotten. How few are the copies which are now extant of pontificals may be seen in Zaccaria:[19] who

[18] In fact, no option was left: "In sua constitutione quæ incipit, *Ex quo in ecclesia Dei* Clemens viij districte mandavit, ut omnes ecclesiæ præsules non aliis quam a se edito pontificali in posterum uterentur; suppressitque ac abolevit omnia et singula pontificalia, quæ usque ad diem novi sui pontificalis editionis in quibuscunque terrarum orbis partibus erant impressa et approbata, et decretis ac clausulis roborata." Catalani, *Pontificale Romanum, proleg.* p. iv. The date of the order or constitution is 1596.

[19] *Bibl. ritualis*, tom. I. 164–168. Possibly since his time more have been discovered. My friend the late Dr. Rock told me "that he can reckon up nearly sixty, and he much suspects more English ones still exist in the college libraries." I confess I am not so sanguine as to the last supposition; and he must of necessity have included pontificals of the Roman Church when he spoke of sixty.

of the churches of Germany mentions about five only, whilst France very rich furnishes twenty-five. It must be remembered that by "churches" copies also are meant, and there are no more of the one than there are of the other.

Some very ancient English pontificals are still kept in libraries abroad: two at Rouen, one of which was brought from the monastery of Jumieges, and the other belonged to Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1050: another, and the most famous, is that of Egbert archbishop of York in the library at Paris.[20] From this last Martene has given copious extracts in his laborious work on the ancient rites of the Church.

At Bangor is preserved a celebrated manuscript which, though it has been known by more names than one, is the pontifical according to the use of that Church. It is not perfect; and suffered many changes in passing through various hands before it was finally restored to the dean and chapter, in 1701. The first bishop to whom it is known to have belonged was Anianus, in 1270: probably it descended from bishop to bishop until Richard Ednam gave it to his cathedral in 1485. For two hundred years or so it was missing, up to 1701, when as I have said it was replaced (by bishop Humphreys) in its proper home.

This volume, by the kindness of the very reverend the dean and chapter of Bangor, is now [1845] lying before me: and I avail myself of the opportunity to give some account of it.

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[20] Although so called, it is not Egbert's own original manuscript but a copy, written about the beginning of the tenth century.

The book is a small folio, upon vellum, lately repaired and bound by the judicious care of the present dean of Bangor [1845] who is well aware of the value of the manuscript: the leaves not foliated but divided into thirty-three parts, each part being usually a separate office. There is only a very small fragment remaining of the original table of contents: but at the beginning is inserted a table of the contents in English, which is stated to have been drawn up by the late Mr. Endell Tyler. Mr. Tyler seems to have had a strange idea of the nature of this pontifical. His account is full of errors, easily to be traced to the common ignorance about such matters prevalent in his day. When he finishes, his judgment on the whole book is that it "contains nothing of much value in any point of view: and certainly has nothing to do with the diocese of Bangor, more than with Canterbury or Durham, except that this individual copy of a bishop's manual (*sic*) belonged to bishops of Bangor."[21]

I cannot but think that the reader who examines only the extracts which will be made from this manuscript in the succeeding pages will form a more correct estimate: for myself, imperfect and damaged as it is, I consider it to be entitled to a place in the highest class of documents which have been spared to us of the ancient English Church.

A list of the contents will prove this; and if

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[21] I do not know whether Mr. Endell Tyler's table of contents is still in the volume. I should have been glad to remove it; but of course resisted the temptation.

I have been obliged to alter almost every word of Mr. Tyler's explanation, except the numbers of the leaves, it has not been for any other reason than necessity.

On the first torn leaf, in a later hand, is a benediction to be pronounced by the bishop to the people on Corpus Christi day.

The second fragment is on both sides a part of the table of contents.

The third, until the illumination, has portions of the litany.

The illumination represents a bishop with his pastoral staff in one hand and the brush in the other. He is in the act of sprinkling holy water on a church which he is about to consecrate. He is attended by priests, and one holding not "the censer" (as Mr. Tyler says) but the holy-water bucket.

Then follow, 1st, fragments and four leaves, part of the order of the consecrating of a church.

2. Two leaves. The form of depositing relics and consecrating the altar.

3. Two leaves. The order of the mass at the consecration.

4. Seven leaves. The consecration of an altar without the church.

5. Two leaves. Depositing the relics.

6. Dedication of a churchyard.

7. Nine leaves. Reconciliation of an altar, church, or churchyard.

8. Eleven leaves. The ordination of ostiarii, exorcists, acolyths, sub-deacons, deacons, and priests.

9. Two leaves. The benediction of candles on the day of the purification of the blessed Virgin.

10. Two leaves. The order of admitting to penance.

11. Two leaves. The blessing of palms.

12. Seven leaves. The mass of the Trinity; of the holy Spirit; and others.

13. Nine leaves. The proper prefaces and order of the mass.

14. Three leaves. Consecration of a cross.

15. Consecration of a bell.

16. Twenty-nine leaves. Proper episcopal benedictions throughout the year.

17. Consecration of an archbishop.

18. One leaf. Enthronisation of an archbishop.

19. Seven leaves. Consecration of a bishop.

20. Four leaves. Consecration of nuns.

21. One leaf. Consecration of vessels and ornaments of the church.

22. Ten leaves. Solemnities of blessing the oil for extreme unction, for baptism, &c.; "in cœna Domini."

23. Four leaves. Form of baptism.

24. Two leaves. The reconciliation of penitents; "in cœna Domini."

25. Two leaves. Benediction of a church-chest.

26. Six leaves. Communion of the sick.

27. Four leaves. Burial of the dead.

28. Four leaves. Ordination of an abbot.

29. Three leaves. Benediction of vestments, and ornaments of churches.

30. One leaf. Benediction of bread, &c.

31. Two leaves. Order of marriage.

32. Five leaves. Commendations.

33. Benediction of an image.

At the end of the volume is written in a con-

temporary hand, apparently his who wrote the whole, "Iste liber est pontificalis dni. Aniani bangor. epĩ." And below this: "Iste liber est pontificalis Fratris Ricardi Ednam Bangor Epĩ. quē librū pdc̃s Ricardus eps̃ dedit Ecclĩē sue Cathedrali Bangorie Anno dnī millesimo quadringintesimo octuagesimo quinto. Et sue Cons. Anno vicesimo primo." Anianus was elected bishop in the year 1268. On the fly-leaf at the end are some entries, letters, and constitutions relating to his time.

In the British museum are three or four imperfect manuscript pontificals, of various dates; and in the library of the university of Cambridge an imperfect one, formerly belonging to the cathedral church at Winchester; and another, very fine and perfect, a large folio upon vellum, of Sarum use, but it has no memorandum by which its former possessors can be traced. This is the manuscript to which such frequent reference will be made in the following work, and from which several offices are taken which I have here edited: it may justly be considered as one of the most valuable manuscripts in existence relating to the old ritual of the Church of England. It is the only perfect pontifical of Salisbury use which I have seen, and is on that account alone of inestimable importance.

In the Bodleian library I was not able to find any complete pontifical of the English church. Two manuscripts contain a few of the episcopal offices; one of which belonged to Westminster abbey.[22] The other is valuable, although scarcely more than a fragment, inasmuch as it belonged to a bishop

[22] Rawlinson C. 425.

of Salisbury and has a memorandum on the first page: "Hunc librum legavit dominus Rogerus de Martivale, Sarisbirien. episcopus ecclesiæ cathedrali beatæ Mariæ Sarisbirien. Ita quod loci episcopus, qui pro tempore fuerit, habeat usum ejus si illum habere voluerit, cui tradatur per bonam memorandam, proprietate ipsius penes dictam ecclesiam remanente. Et mortuo quolibet episcopo loci ejus usum habuerit, dictæ ecclesiæ fideliter restituatur."[23] Bishop Martivale died in 1329.

It may be said that the famous missal of Leofric bishop of Exeter ought rather to be called a pontifical; but it is very miscellaneous in its contents and not limited to episcopal offices, having many which a priest, who is frequently recognised in the rubrics, was fully authorised to perform.[24]

But another English pontifical, a noble and perfect volume, has escaped the ravages by which so many have been destroyed and is still preserved in the exchequer chamber of the cathedral of Exeter. It belonged (whether originally or not, is impossible to say) to bishop Lacy, and having been permitted to examine it by the kindness of the dean and chapter I shall not hesitate to add a full description of this book.

The Exeter pontifical is in size a small folio, written upon vellum in a good hand of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The first leaf is not numbered: afterwards it is regularly foliated to the

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[23] Rawlinson C. 400.

[24] Other English pontificals abroad are those of St. Dunstan in the public library at Paris, and of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Douay. A very careful list of all known English pontificals, or portions of them, is given in the preface to archbishop Bainbridge's pontifical.

end, from i. to c.iiij. There is no calendar; the rubrics are in red and the initials in blue ink. At the beginning, on the reverse of the leaf not numbered, is the table of contents. The pontifical ends on the middle of the recto of fol. c.iiij; on the reverse of which, in a hand nearly contemporary, is a collect, "Deus, qui Raphaelis."[25] Below this prayer, in a later hand, is the order for admitting a candidate into a religious fraternity, with an English form of obedience and reception.[26] Upon

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[25] Bishop Lacy was a great promoter, if not the original author of the services and appointment of a day in honour of the archangel Raphael. The register of Beauchamp bishop of Sarum cited in the *Monasticon*, vol. 2. p. 519, leaves no doubt: "Edmundus Lacy Exon. episcopus propriam quandam historiam novem lectionum, cum antiphonis, responsoriis . . . in unum contextum redegit. Quod officium celebratum fuit in festo S. Raphaelis, 5 Oct." "Eugenius papa historiam S. Raphaelis archangeli ab Edmundo Lacy episcopo Exon. conscriptam Johanni Snetysham cancellario ecclesiæ Exon. examinandam commisit 1443. Ab isto auctoritate papali approbatum est officium . . . et decretum est ut festum in singulis ecclesiis ubi illud acceptum fuerit celebraretur." The churches of Sarum and York do not appear to have admitted it. The canonical office is at the end of the fourth volume (*pars autumnalis*) of the Roman breviary, for the 24th day of October: "duplex minus, pro omnibus Hispaniarum regi subjectis." There is no collect or prayer in it the same as "Deus, qui Raphaelis." A collect is frequently found in the Sarum horæ, "*Oratio ad sanctum Raphaelem:*" this again is different, and begins "Auxiliare mihi." Wilkins in his *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 537, cites from bishop Lacy's register the institution, "Institutio festi S. Raphaelis in ecclesia Exon." This settles it to be different from the state and dignity in which it is now fixed in the breviary of the church of Rome; and the reader may find the full particulars in Wilkins, which are sufficiently important in many respects to repay the trouble of perusal.

[26] The following is the English form: "*Tunc surgens a prostratione osculetur singulos fratres.* So bretherne, here is my maister I. N. whiche of his clene deuo-

the lower margin of the reverse of fol. i. is written: "Hunc librum pontificale dederunt Executores bonæ

cioun that he hath to god, and of a speciall desire to us, askyth for goddis sake to be amitted and receiuid in to oure bretherreden that he may take parte of the spirituall goodes and preyers, whiche thorof the ȝefte and grace of god ben don a mong us. Plese hit yow, to receiue hym. *Quibus respondentibus. Etiam magister ad petendum dicat.* We take yow maister N. in to oure bretherdon, grauntyng to yow the spirituall parte takyng of alle masses, matynes, euensongis, praiours, fastingis, abstinencis, wacchis, laboros, and other good dedis the whiche to the praysing of god buthe don a mong vs and alle oures. Tunc ille admissus se prosternat et cet. ut supra."

This admittance into a participation of all the prayers, &c. of a convent was not limited to members only: for example, we find in the fifteenth century a sum of money given to Thetford priory "to admit for ever certain persons and souls before named to the fraternity, suffrages, chapter, and whole religion, to be partners of all prayers, vigils, masses, fastings, alms-deeds, and all other suffrages of their religion." Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 5. p. 146.

But to return to the forms of admitting a novice or brother into a monastery. These are curious, and as but few such are extant I think it will not be uninteresting to add two more. One, from a manuscript formerly belonging to a priory in the diocese of Exeter: St. Andrew's, in Cornwall. It contains the ceremonial of reception, and the following English dialogue occurs between the prior, standing in the chapter-house surrounded by the brethren, and the novice kneeling before him:—

"*Prior.* What desire ye?

"*Novice.* To be mad broder.

"*P.* Ys hit yowr wil & yow hertely desyre to be parte taker of all massis and prayers and almeys dede, done yn holy place, or schall be done here after?

"*N.* Ye.

"*P.* Al so ys hit yowr wille to defende and to manteyne the righte of this holy plas to yowr power, where by God & synt Androw may be the pesabeler seruyd by yowr worde and godewille, as a trewe broder otghte to do?

"*N.* Ye." Oliver's *Monasticon Exon.* p. 36.

A more full form for the candidate is contained in a manuscript in the library of the British museum, which I have extracted

memoriæ Edmundi. lacy. nuper dum vixit, Exoniensis episcopi de bonis Ejusdem. Ecclesiæ Cath.

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and subjoin; MS. Cotton. Nero A. 3. fol. 131:—

"*The fyrst petycion in the colloquium.*

"Syr, I besyche yow and alle the convent for the luffe of god, owr Ladye Marye, sant John of baptiste, and alle the hoyle cowrte of hevyne: that ye wolde resaue me, to lyve and dye here emong yow, In the state of a monke, as prebendarye and seruant vnto alle, to the honor of god, solace to the company, prouffet to the place, and helthe vnto my sowle.

"*The answer vnto the examinacyon.*

"Syr, I tryste thurgh the helpe of god and yowr good prayeres to kepe all thes thyngs, whiche ye haue now heyre rehersede.

"*The fyrst peticyon before the profession.*

"Syr, I haue beyn heyr now this twelf month nere hand, and lovyde be god, me lyks ryght well, both the order and the company. Whir apon I besyche yow, and all the companye, for the luffe of god, our lady sanct Marye, sanct John of baptyst, and all the hoyle company of hevyn, that ye wyll resaue me, vnto my professyon, at my twellmonth day, accordyng to my petycyon whych I made, when I were fyrst resaved heyr emongs yow."

The use of the word "prebendary" in the sense in which it must of course be taken above I should suppose to be very unusual, and valuable as throwing some light upon its ancient English signification.

Once more: there is a fragment of the form of creating a prioress of the monastery of Barking, extant in a manuscript at Oxford (MS. Wood. Mus. Ashm. f. 30): "When a prioresse shall bee made, thabbes shall commaunde hyr the rule, injoining her that shee bee vnto hyr helping, and the points of the rule to meynteyne religion. And shee shall set hyr in hyr sete. And than shall come the chaplaine with ensens against hyr. And the abbess and shee shall go before the convent in the qwere. And than shall they go to St. Alburgh, and the convent shall say 'levavi:' and the pryores shall lye prostrate, and the abbes shall say the preces aforesaid with this oreson: 'Oremus. Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, miserere famulæ tuæ,' &c. Than shall the pryores go to the qwere, and the capitall mass shall be, 'Spiritus Domini.' And the same day shall give pitaunce of good fysh to the covent: and when shee deye, she meest gyve to the covent. . ." *Cætera desunt.* Vide Dugdale, *Monasticon,* vol. 1. p. 437.

Exon. ibm̃ remansurum quamdiu duraverit ad laudem dei pro salute anime dicti Edmundi, ita quod nullo modo alienetur a dicta ecclesia cathedrali."

Table of contents :—

Ad suscipiendum regem et reginam.	c.j.
„ „ archiepiscopum.	c.ij.
Orationes quæ dicuntur inthronizatione archiepiscopi. Qualiter chrisma conficitur in ecclesia Sarum.	c.ij.
Ad reconciliandum apostatam a fide.	c.iij.
Forma excommunicationis.	c.iiij."[27]

A remarkable volume is in the library of the British museum;[28] called in the catalogue "Servitium de omni officio episcopali, concernente chorum." The title is sufficiently correct; as the book contains those portions only, either noted throughout or having the intonation at the beginning (as in the psalms) which would be sung by the choir on occasions of the bishop officiating. Some few portions of the pontifical are given, sufficient to connect one part with another; and frequent reference is made to it. Thus: "in dedicatione ecclesiæ omnia præparentur sicut habetur in pontificali."

As the ritual of the reformed Church of England is at present constituted, her rubrics admitting of no

[27] I leave the above description and table of contents as they were in the first edition; as the table may be of use in identifying fragments of similar volumes. The whole book was reprinted about the year 1846; and I congratulate myself on having been the first to point out its value and importance, and so rescue it from the neglect in which it had so long been allowed to remain. It would be well if that edition could be recommended as altogether useful to the student; but I am bound (however unwillingly) to warn him against reliance on the accuracy of the text. The care and learning which are shown in the performance of their task scarcely correspond, in my judgment, with the zeal worthy of all praise which prompted the editors to undertake such a work.

[28] Vespasian D. 1. A beautiful manuscript, small octavo, 63 folios.

differences of ceremonial between a priest or a bishop officiating in those ordinances which are common to both, very few of the orders in the above table are required. The pontifical which is obligatory upon the bishops of the reformed Church is limited to the offices of confirmation and ordination.[29] The last of these is joined (sometimes, not always) as if almost an afterthought, to the book of Common prayer. I believe that the majority of Anglican theologians hold it to be a most certain truth, that where there is no bishop there can be no Church; and it is not easy to explain what objection could have been made to some not excessive variations in the ceremonial of the modern Church of England, which would have given additional dignity to those occasions when her bishops officiate.

In the year 1643 there was "a design in deliberation touching the drawing and digesting of an English pontifical, to be approved by the convocation, and tendered to his Majesty's confirmation; which said pontifical was to contain the form and manner of a coronation; a form to be observed by all archbishops and bishops for consecrating churches, churchyards, and chapels; and a third for reconciling such penitents as had either done open penance, or had revolted from the faith. Which three, together with the form of confirmation, and that of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons, were to make up the whole body of the book intended.

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[29] The order of confirmation, following probably the example of the old manuals, was originally inserted in the body of the Book and has ever since remained there.

But the troubles of the time growing greater and greater, it was thought expedient to defer the prosecution of it to a fitter conjuncture."[30] This conjuncture has not yet happened. Down to the present day every Anglican bishop seems to have the power to draw up forms of prayer and orders for various official purposes, according to his own judgement and discretion. These vary considerably in different dioceses; and occasionally may be thought to represent the peculiar religious views and opinions of the bishop himself.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE contents of service books which although complete in themselves yet were but portions of the larger volumes which I have already treated of remain for our consideration. These were intended for great solemnities, or for the choir; or (as of the orders of baptism and burial) were written or printed separately, to be at hand and useful for frequently recurring occasions. Some of these have been explained above: and I propose, for I see no necessity to the contrary, to be as brief as may be in my notice of the rest.

The Benedictionale contained the episcopal benedictions which were given during the canon of the mass. Anciently these were almost universally said in the western Church; but have been for some centuries discontinued, according to the use of the

[30] Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 441.

church of Rome. In the possession of the duke of Devonshire is a most magnificent benedictionale, originally St. Æthelwold's who was a contemporary of St. Dunstan and bishop of Winchester. This has been excellently edited by Mr. Gage with facsimiles of the illuminations, and published for the society of antiquaries.[31] Another is in the library at Rouen which has been collated and the few differences noted by the same editor. This is said to have belonged to Robert archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 1052; and is similar in almost all respects to that of Æthelwold. The benedictionale is included in the Exeter pontifical, but the forms are totally different. The rubric at the beginning is, "Incipiunt benedictiones per anni circulum: editæ a venerabili patre fratre Johanne de Peccham archiepiscopo Cant." No. 16 in the contents of the Bangor manuscript (see p. cxxxiv) is also a benedictionale. In the Cotton library, Tiberius B. iij contains only the episcopal benedictions. In the Harleian, no. 2892 is a very noble manuscript of the tenth century, also a benedictional. The benedictional of St. Dunstan was preserved at Glastonbury until, at least, the thirteenth century.[32]

The Roman pontifical printed by Junta, fol. 1520, contains the episcopal benedictions, beginning fol. 236 *b*, and running on to the end of the volume; eighteen folios. This is an edition therefore which is highly to be prized. It states however that the Roman church no longer (at that time) used them: "*Has autem benedictiones ecclesia Romana non habet in usu: sed in fine missæ dicuntur.* Sit nomen Domini benedictum," &c. But although the custom was so early

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[31] *Archæologia*, vol. 24.

[32] Hearne, *Johan. Glaston. chronic.* p. 443.

discontinued according to the Roman use it by no means follows that this was so in the English church. It is true that there is no reference to the practice in the printed missals of Sarum or York: but neither is there in manuscript missals which are contemporary with bishop Lacy's pontifical, so that no conclusion can be drawn from such an omission. In fact, very late manuscripts of benedictionals are extant:[33] and the printed Sarum manuals plainly refer to the book; in its proper place in the canon, after the prayer "Da propitius pacem," though the benedictions themselves are not given. The rubric is "¶ *Deinde si episcopus celebraverit: diaconus ad populum conversus baculum episcopi in dextera tenens: curvatura baculi ad se conversa dicat hoc modo:* Humiliate vos ad benedictionem. *Chorus respondeat:* Deo gratias," &c.[34]

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[33] The so-called Evesham benedictional, written about 1520 for a bishop of Lincoln, has a large illumination showing the bishop giving this benediction. He stands with the right hand lifted, a ring upon the thumb and on the forefinger, the mitre on his head, and the pastoral staff in his left hand: a priest holds the benedictional open before him. A rubric orders the benediction to be given immediately after "Pax ejus sit semper vobiscum."

The Westminster missal, written for abbot Litlington, has a benedictional after the canon. Some abbots were privileged to give the benedictions. A benedictional is prefixed to the English pontifical in the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson, 425; which once belonged also to Westminster abbey. Some of the offices in this pontifical, and some of the prayers, are ordered to be said by the abbot if the bishop be not present.

In an inventory of the books belonging to the church of St. Margaret, Southwark, in 1485, occurs "item, a benyte boke." I suppose this may have been a manuscript containing the office for blessing water, and some other benedictions which a priest might give.

[34] I purposely quote from a late edition, London, 1554.

The benedictional is occasionally to be understood rather as the pontifical: for example, in the inventory of St. Paul's, A.D. 1295, we find "benedictionale Willielmi episcopi annuale, male ligatum; in quo continentur benedictiones abbatum, et consecrationes regum, et qualiter concilium agi debeat, et omnium ordinandi."[35] The three "benedictionalia" formerly at Durham were most probably properly so called.[36]

The Baptismale or Baptisterium unless, as there are instances, used as a title of the ritual or manual contained the order of baptism. Under the latter name it is mentioned in the penitential of which I have given an account above, p. cxviij, as one of the books which every priest was bound to have. I know no copy of a baptismale of the English Church even in manuscript; but I possess a small volume, containing also the office for blessing water and salt, of which the title is, "Catechumenorum et benedictionis salis et aquæ libellus." This is a foreign use; "juxta ritum Cenetensis ecclesiæ:" upon vellum; no printer's name; date 1546.[37]

The Cærimoniale and Liber sacrarum cærimoniarum are modern books: they contain full directions for the services and ceremonies to be observed when the pope or bishops officiate. The prayers are not included, but merely identified by the first few words.

The Homiliarium or Sermonarius I have already mentioned as forming a part of the legenda. Ducange cites from the chartularium Virzionense, "Isi-

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[35] Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, p. 221.

[36] *Catalogi veteres*, p. 34, and again, p. 111.

[37] See above, p. xx, note.

dorus presbyter ad ecclesiæ Virzionensis ministerium —missalem unum, omeliarium unum."[38] As a separate volume it occurs among those given to his cathedral by bishop Leofric: "et unus completus homiliarum codex hyemalis et æstivalis."[39] Again, in the inventory of St. Paul's: "legenda sive omelia;" "item omelium estivale;" "item omelium sanctorum."[40]

The Diurnale contained, says Zaccaria, all the day-hours except matins. But occasionally the whole office of matins, except the lessons and their responses, was also in it. The diurnale occurs among the books of Adam de Boothbie abbot of Peterborough, A. D. 1330.[41] This is the book which is

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[38] *Glossarium, verb.* Omeliarius.

[39] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 2. p. 528.

[40] Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, p. 218. Although not exactly a service book, it is right to mention a book of the character of homilies which was not uncommon about the middle of the fifteenth century, and frequently printed abroad; the *Postilla*, or Postils. The title of an edition by Julyan Notary in 1509 explains the contents: "Postilla, sive expositio epistolarum et evangeliorum dominicalium, necnon de sanctis et eorum communi, una cum ferialibus tam de toto tempore anni quam etiam eorundem sanctorum." These expositions varied in different countries and at different times. They were intended to be read in the church during mass, if written in the vulgar tongue; if in Latin, they served to direct and inform the preacher upon the subject of the epistle and gospel for the day. Hence the name; which was taken from the common form "In illo tempore" with which the gospels usually begin at mass.

An English manuscript in the Bodleian of the fourteenth century (Rawlinson C. 14) is a book of postils. Each gospel is divided into small sections, which are separately explained. The book is clearly intended to be used as a guide by the parish priest in his weekly sermon to the people.

[41] Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 45, and twice at least

called the Journalle[42] in the statute, 3rd and 4th Edw. VI. cap. x; and in the order to bring in all popish rituals, addressed to Cranmer in 1549.[43] In the same statute the Coucher immediately precedes, which so placed is almost certainly to be understood as corresponding to the modern Vesperale or vespers book of the Roman catholic church.

The Epistolarium and Evangelistarium have been spoken of above: as service books, properly, the one contained the epistles and the other the gospels which were appointed for the office of the holy communion. Examples of both these volumes are cited by Ducange from very ancient inventories; and also by Georgius.[44] To these I would add from Matthew Paris[45] that abbot Paul gave to the abbey of St. Alban, with other books, "epistolarium, et librum in quo continentur evangelia legenda per annum," i.e. an evangelistarium. Again, from the often-quoted gift of bishop Leofric, "item duo epistolarum libri."[46] In the inventory of the royal chapel, Windsor: "unum epistolare," "item, textus

among the Durham books. Vide *Catalogi veteres*, pp. 38 and 115.

[42] The term *journey* to signify a day's work is still in use in Cornwall. Vide *Diurnalis* in Ducange: "Idem, quod jugerum: nostris *journel*, quantum terræ bos per diem arare potest." He does not mention the book, *Diurnale*.

The title coucher occurs in inventories where the book to which it refers is doubtful. Among the books in the church of Long Melford in Sussex in 1529 were two "great couchers," entered among the antiphoners. *Neale's churches*, p. 205. It is not improbable that the word is sometimes to be understood as meaning some large volume intended "to lie" upon a desk for the use of the choir.

[43] *Concil.* tom. 4. p. 38.

[44] *De liturg. rom. pontif.* tom. 2. dissert 2.

[45] p. 1003.

[46] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 2. p. 527.

novus evangelii," "item, unus liber evangelii."[47] It is just possible these latter were not strictly evangelistaria. However, evangelistaria are certainly in the St. Paul's inventory (not to name others) and epistolaria also: five copies of the one, and six of the other. To these we may add the "pystyll boke" of St. Martin Outwich, London;[48] and of St. Margaret's, Southwark, in 1485. In an old inventory of All Souls' college, Oxford, we meet with the "gospelare" immediately succeeding "1 epistolarium."[49]

Sometimes both the epistolarium and evangelistarium were included in one volume; either separately, each by itself, or arranged together according to the service of the day. Such was the famous book which once belonged to the church of Durham: "also the gospeller did carrye a marvelous faire booke, which had the epistles and gospels in it, and did lay it on the altar, the which booke had on the outside of the coveringe the picture of our saviour Christ, all of silver, of goldsmith's worke, all parcel gilt, very fine to behoulde."[50]

On account of the important note which is added in the manuscript catalogue of the MSS. of the university of Cambridge, I must make mention of two ancient Greek volumes there preserved; one of which is said to be as early as the eighth century. Speaking of this the writer says, "in quo continetur

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[47] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 6. p. 1362.

[48] Nichols, *Churchwardens' accompts*, p. 272.

[49] Gutch, *Collectanea curiosa*, vol. 2. No. xv.

[50] *Rites of the church of Durham*, p. 7. A volume of the same kind is mentioned in the inventory of the church of Glasgow, published by the Maitland club: "Item, epistolare cum evangeliis pro magno altari, in volumine magno." p. 9.

εὐαγγέλιον (sive ut aliis magis placet εὐαγγελιστέριον) sive liber, in quo descripta sunt evangelia, non quidem continuata historiæ evangelicæ serie, sed in certa τμήματα seu περικοπάς divisa, quæ proprias lectiones constituant, ad usum singulorum dierum, et festivitatum secundum ritum ecclesiæ orientalis." This exactly describes the corresponding book of the Latin Church.[51]

The Litaneuticus contains various litanies. I am not aware of any English instance, unless that may be so called which is thus entered in the "registrum omnium librorum" of Leicester abbey: "item, liber de certis collectis, et longa litania."[52] Several were printed abroad. One by Plantin, 1670, 12mo., after the title "Sacræ litaniæ variæ" &c. adds "accedit exercitium hebdomadarium, collectore Joanne Wilsono sacerdote Anglo."

Many volumes are extant in manuscript as well as printed containing only certain masses; such as the Missale episcopale. The following is part of the title of a copy now before me, which requires no

[51] Among the royal MSS. in the British museum, 2 B. xij. xiij are an epistolarium and evangelistarium, of the fifteenth century. They are fine books, and on the first folio of each is written: "Orate pro bono statu Stephani Jenyns, militis et aldermanni Londonensis, et domine Margarete uxoris sue, dum vixerint: et pro animabus ipsorum cum ab luce migraverint hac: necnon pro anima Willielmi Buck. Qui quidem Stephanus et Margareta librum dederunt istum ecclesie beate Marie de Aldermanbury, ibidem imperpetuum permansurum. Anno domini 1508, et anno 24. H. vij. Quo tempore sive anno, dictus Stephanus Londonie predicte major fuit. Quibus eternam Deus det luminis claritatem. Amen. N. E. E." Instead of the last words, the epistolarium has "Quibus det deus eternam felicitatem. Amen."

[52] Nichols' *Leicestershire*, vol. 1. pt. 2. p. 101. I may add that the same inventory has "item, libri epistolarum et evangelistarum festis principalibus."

further explanation: "Missæ episcopales, pro sacris ordinibus conferendis. . . . . pro pontifice, privatim, plane, et sine cantu celebraturo: quibus etiam additur, missa feriæ quintæ in cœna Domini: cum consecrationibus oleorum: et aliis cæremoniis eidem missæ congruentibus." Another of the same kind was the Speciale, containing the order only of private mass: this is not unfrequent abroad, and a copy is now before me printed by Junta in 1504, folio. But I do not remember any example extant of English use; though I have no hesitation in including it among the ancient service books of the English Church, on the authority of the register of St. Osmund: in which among the inventories occurs, fol. 73, "quidam novus liber, continens missas privatas."

There were also the Matutinale, of which an instance occurs in Matthew Paris;[53] and more frequently the Missale or Missæ defunctorum, in which were the offices for the dead, with special prayers for particular occasions. This was also called Liber exequialis, and Officium defunctorum: more especially if it contained the hours of the office for the

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[53] p. 1006. Ducange mentions a "matutinalis liber" which contained the matin office of the canonical hours, but he does not seem to have known of a "missale matutinale." The same very learned writer notes the "matutinale altare," "illud minus altare in quo missa matutinalis celebratur in eccles. cathedralibus." *Glossarium, verb.* Matutinale. Compare also Matthew Paris: "in loco qui fuit inter altare sancti Oswini, ubi scilicet missa matutinalis celebrari," &c. *Hist.* p. 809. And the chronicle of W. Thorn: ". . . quod tunc . . . omni die celebraretur missa matutinalis." *Script. X.* tom. 2. p. 1910. And again, a few lines below: "altare constructum erat, in quo missa matutinalis celebrata fuit omni die."

dead. The Harleian MS. 3166 has the dirge only; written in a very large and bold character.

Among the Cotton MSS. in the British museum[54] is a volume formerly belonging to the abbey church of St. Alban; a portion of which relates to and specifies the vestments &c. which every abbot elect was to be provided with. The only book it mentions is the Missale mixtum. It is not certain what this was: but I cannot agree with Ducange. He says, "Missale mixtum, ubi, non fallor, præter ea quæ ad missam spectant, alia occurrunt;" and refers to *Mixtum*, where he explains it as "liber, ni fallor, ecclesiasticus," citing also an authority which appears to throw considerable light upon the question: "Scripsit manu propria libros ecclesiasticos, videlicet duo missalia, duos graduales, duo prosaria, et unum mixtum." I conclude from this the Missale mixtum to be what was also called completum or plenarium, as including all the portions of the service; and in the passage just quoted it is opposed to the "duo missalia," which did not contain also the proses, sequences, psalms, graduals, &c.

The Canon missæ, more properly rather the Ordo missæ, contained the canon and the ordinary only of the mass; unless (as occasionally happens in the printed editions) some few preparatory prayers were added, or those to be said at the putting on of the vestments. I have an edition of this "juxta formam editionis Romanæ," Salisburgi, 1728; of which the type is sufficiently large to be read with ease at a distance of twelve or fifteen feet. I need scarcely add that it is a folio. No book of the kind is extant

[54] Claud. E. iv; cit. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 2. p. 236.

according to any English use, neither probably was it printed; but that it was once not uncommon in manuscript may be concluded from an old inventory of a chapel, attached to the will of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford, date about 1322. We find in it "le canoun de la messe per sei."[55] The canon is ordered in the penitential of bishop Bartholomew:[56] and occurs once in the registrum S. Osmundi among the books of a parish church.[57]

The Offertorium contained the offertories, and the Sequentiale or Sequentionarium the sequences, of the office of the mass.[58] An "Expositio sequentiarum totius anni secundum usum Sarum," of the same kind and intended for the same purpose as the exposition of the hymns before spoken of (p. cxiij), was printed more than once, and the two were often bound together.

Other parts of some of the more solemn offices, or of those which occurred only once or twice in the year, were often written separately. Not the least curious of these and among the rarest manuscripts which now exist were the "Exultet" rolls. It is

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[55] This is one of the earliest wills known. In the inventory are also "ij. messals, j. legende, ij. auntefiniers, j. porthos, j. sautier glosè en ij. volumes, iij greieles, j. manuel, j. epistolarie, ij. tropiers, j. sautier ovesques [?], j. ympner, le canoun de la messe per sei." *Archæological journal*, vol. ij. p. 339. See also *Catalogi veteres*, Surtees society, pp. 38 and 115.

[56] See above, p. cxviij. The reader will observe that in the same order or direction the Liber sacramentorum is specified immediately before.

[57] Fol. 41. See the appendix to this dissertation. Sometimes we may, as it seems, understand the whole missal to be meant by the term "canon;" for example, in the quotation above, p. xxj. note 30.

[58] An English sequentiale, noted, is in the Bodleian MS. miscell. 27.

doubtful whether any English church used these; but the mere absence of any example is not conclusive evidence. Few are to be found even in the libraries abroad; and I believe that the only copy of an exultet roll in England is in the British museum.[59]

The service contained in the exultet roll is used at the consecration of the paschal candle upon easter eve; and takes its name from the first word of the beginning of an especial part of the office for that great day: "Exultet jam angelica turba cœlorum," etc.[60]

The Octavarium is an arrangement of portions of the canonical hours which are to be said within the octaves of feasts. I am not aware of any earlier than the seventeenth century: the title of one now before me explains itself: "Octavarium Romanum, sive octavæ festorum, lectiones secundi scilicet et tertii nocturni singulis diebus recitandæ infra octavas sanctorum titularium," &c. In the Officium hebdomadæ sanctæ are of course the divine offices to be said during the Great week. The pontifical of the same holy season has also been arranged and printed.

In the Responsorium were the responses and the accompanying verses for the offices of the breviary. The title of an edition which I have seen is "Responsoria noviter cum notis impressa: de tempore et

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[59] Additional MS. 30,337.

[60] A careful description with some photographs of the Museum manuscript by Mr. E. M. Thompson (keeper of the manuscripts) is printed in the transactions of the *Archæological association.* I should be disposed (speaking with much hesitation) to refer it to an earlier date than is there given, namely, the twelfth century.

sanctis per totum annum; regentibus et scolaribus utilissima."[61] That is, for the rulers and choristers of the choir. I am unable to refer to any English manuscript of this book, but have no doubt that it was not uncommon and that copies still exist.

The Liber exorcismorum, which doubtless contained exorcisms, occurs among the books which Matthew Paris tells us Geoffrey de Gorham gave to his abbey of St. Alban.[62] The Historiale, probably a lectionary, i. e. of the sacred histories with the proper responses attached, was (says Gunton) in the library of the same abbot of Peterborough to whom the numerale belonged, mentioned above, p. cxx.[63]

In the inventory of St. Paul's cathedral are entered "novem Versicularii." These were the same as the Versarius, which occurs in the ancient catalogue of the books belonging to the cathedral church of Durham,[64] and was (as Ducange says) "liber ecclesiasticus, continens versus, qui canuntur in ecclesia." Probably also the "liber, cum versu, g. r. et alleluya" in the royal chapel of Windsor, was a versicularius.[65]

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[61] "Impressum per Johannem Stucks concivem Nurnbergensem. Anno etc. (*sic*) nono."

[62] p. 1013.

[63] Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 29. I have never seen any English book of exorcisms, but it is probable that copies were not uncommon in the fifteenth century, as the Sarum pontifical ordered the delivery of such a service book to exorcists at their ordination. See vol. 2. p. 180. note 22. The manual in some cases included exorcisms; and as the rite had ceased to be more than merely symbolical, the manual may have been used instead of the more proper book itself, which in earlier days contained only the various forms of exorcism.

[64] *Catalogi veteres*, Surtees society, p. 8.

[65] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 6. p. 1363. "g. r." gradual and response?

Or, this last may have been the book which was in use among the Greek Churches: viz. the ἀλλη-λουιάριον. The Greeks would certainly require their Alleluyas to be written in a separate volume if, as Gerbert tells us, they fill whole pages with one only.[66] I might perhaps have hesitated in admitting such a book among those of the English Church were it not for the authority of the inventory of Ramsay abbey, in which occur "libri de alleluyes, viij:" and immediately after, "libri de kyries, iiij."[67]

The same important catalogue contains a book called minus Mariale. This Mariale (at least those copies which I have seen) was a mere compilation in verse or prose in honour of the blessed Virgin: it did not contain any prayers and scarcely requires notice. A copy is in the chapter library at Durham. But the Virginale was a volume more nearly related to our present subject. In it were prayers to the virgin Mary, adaptations of psalms, hymns, the five joys, &c. It happens that in the king's library in the British museum is a virginale with which is bound up a mariale, and between them a collection of prayers chiefly addressed to the three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity. These are in a different handwriting but of about the same date, late in the fourteenth century.[68] I would guard the reader against

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[66] *De cantu et musica sacra*, tom. 1. p. 408.

[67] In the British museum, Cotton rolls, xi. 16. In the old Glastonbury catalogue, of the thirteenth century, are "ii. lib. cum responsor. et alleluia." Hearne, *John. Glas. Chron.* p. 444.

[68] I think it will not be out of the way to give the rubric with which these devotions begin: "Orationes sive meditationes quæ subscriptæ sunt, quia ad excitandam legentis mentem ad Dei amorem seu ad suimet discussionem editæ sunt, non sunt legendæ in tumultu, sed in

confounding these two volumes, the mariale and the virginale: for example, he will find the Cotton MS. Titus A. xxj called a mariale in the catalogue: but it exactly corresponds with the virginale in the king's library; containing, besides various prayers, a litany of the blessed Virgin at the end. This book is unfortunately imperfect.

I have mentioned above the Missale matutinale (p. cliij); and in the Peterborough catalogue[69] we find a sort of corresponding book, which contained an especial office from the breviary: though I do not mean that it necessarily was a part of the breviary. This was the Matutinæ de cruce. For a further account of this office of the cross I must refer the reader to the notes upon the English prymer, in the third volume. In the same catalogue we have another book which, whether the first did or did not, certainly contained the other hours as well as matins: "Matutinæ cum horis de cruce cum depunctione passionis uniuscujusque horæ."[70]

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quiete, nec cursim et velociter, sed paulatim cum intenta et morosa meditatione. Nec debet intendere lector quamlibet earum totam perlegat, sed quantum sentit sibi, Deo adjuvante, valere ad accendendum affectum orandi, vel quantum illum delectat. Nec necesse habet aliquam semper a principio incipere, sed ubi magis illi placuerit. ¶ Ad hoc enim ipsum paragraphis sunt distinctæ per partes, ut ubi elegerit incipiat, vel desinat, ne prolixitas aut frequens ejusdem loci repetitio generet fastidium, sed potius aliquem inde colligat lector, propter quod factæ sunt, pietatis affectum." (Bibl. reg. MS. 7. A. vj. fol. 39.) The first prayer begins: "Omnipotens et misericors Pater, et bone Domine," &c.

This is called in a will among those in Rymer's collection a virginal: "Et unum parvum librum vocatum virginal, coopertum in blodio panno de auro de cipre." A.D. 1415. Tom. 9. p. 276.

[69] Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 203.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

The Computus or Compotus was a sort of calendar or, rather, a table or set of rules by which a calendar could be drawn up: as Durand says, "scientia certificandi tempus secundum solis et lunæ progressum."[71] This was a kind of knowledge anciently much cultivated among the clergy, and very necessary; to determine the moveable feasts, and particularly of easter on which the rest depend. The compotus seldom occurs, even in manuscript, as a separate book: very commonly in the sixteenth century it was added (or an abridgment of it) to the manual and missal.

I must not omit here to speak of a wonderful volume, which Le Brun says was in his time preserved in the convent of St. James, at Paris. He speaks of it as a great book, above all price: an estimate with which we can heartily agree. "Hæc autem" (he says) "in hoc amplo libro continentur. 1. Ordinarium. 2. Collectarium. 3. Psalterium. 4. Lectionarium. 5. Pulpitarium. 6. Epistolarium. 7. Missale minorum altarium. 8. Martyrologium. 9. Processionarium. 10. Breviarium. 11. Antiphonarium. 12. Graduale. 13. Missale conventuale. 14. Evangelistarium."[72]

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[71] *Rationale*, lib. 8. cap. 1. Ducange says upon the word: "Compoti notitiam presbyteris et clericis adeo necessariam censuerunt veteres, ut statuta ecclesiastica seu episcoporum pro suis diœcesibus, pene omnia, illud iis magna cum sollicitudine ediscendum præscribant." He cites many authorities on the point. The 92nd of the episcopal articles of enquiry in *Regino Prumiensis* is, "Si compotum minorem, id est, epactas, concurrentes regulares, terminos paschales, et reliquos sapiat" (i. e. sciat). Lib. 1. p. 17.

[72] Dissert. xv. artic. 5, *Opera*, tom. iv.

Of these the Pulpitarium seems [1845] open to considerable doubt as to the nature of its contents: I do not remember to have seen such a title in any other instance or example, and should have supposed it to have been an Homiliarium: but Ducange, who also does not seem to have met with any other authority for its use than the above of Le Brun which he cites, thus explains it: "liber, ut videtur, continens quæ ad pulpitum cantantur, vel recitantur." We may reasonably think however that these parts of the services were already included in some of the many other books in this great volume. The "missale minorum altarium" was peculiar to the Dominicans; and contained services from which much supplementary matter was omitted, and therefore only the chief and necessary parts were in them.[73]

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[73] I have little doubt that the volume mentioned by Le Brun was purchased a few years ago for the British museum. It contains according to the catalogue of manuscripts besides other matter, an ordinary, a martyrology, a lectionary, a collectarium, pulpitarium, antiphoner, gradual, conventual missal, the epistles, and the gospels. The book is a small folio, of the thirteenth century. Add. MS. 23,935. Having now seen the book, I can say that the "pulpitarium" has nothing to do with homilies or sermons, but simply contains antiphons, responses, &c. which are to be sung from a certain place. I leave in the text what was written nearly forty years ago, as an example of the amount of error likely at any time to come from mere guessing.

It is not impossible that there might anciently have been some such *ampli libri* in England; at least we have volumes which contain together, two, three, or four separate service books; and as if to prove that mere industry was not wanting, a huge manuscript is preserved in the Bodleian library known as the Vernon manuscript, in which are about twenty separate books, though not ecclesiastical; such as *Piers Plowman*, and a very long metrical *Lives of the saints.* There are altogether 412 folios,

The Capitularium contained the "little chapters" which were appointed to be read in the several offices of the day hours. I do not remember any examples of this book which I can now refer to, except several in the inventories of the registrum S. Osmundi: which are quite sufficient for the present purpose. These may be found in the appendix to this dissertation. It must be remembered that these inventories were made between the years 1220 and 1230; and a writer of the succeeding century explains exactly what the capitula were. He says, "in lectionibus tam majoribus, quæ in vigiliis nocturnis leguntur, quam parvulis, quæ dicuntur ad alias horas, et capitula appellantur, laudem Dei agimus et pronunciamus." And again: "sciendum quod sicut ad vigilias noctis leguntur lectiones magnæ, ita ad laudes et vesperas, et ad quinque parvas horas dicuntur parvæ lectiones, sive lectiunculæ, quas sanctus Benedictus in regula sua vocat lectiones."[74] This capitularium must not be confounded with the capitular before mentioned.[75]

Since the publication of the first edition of this work I am enabled to add another book which may rightly be included among the ancient service books of the church of England; although the use of it was

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and three columns on a page as far as f. 318. Some account of this "prodigious" volume, as Warton well calls it, is given in a note to his *History of English poetry*, vol. 1. p. 15.

[74] Radulp. Tungrensis, *De canonum observ.* prop. viij, xiij; *Bibl. patr. auct.* pp. 1111, 1127. Vide Ducange, *verb.* Capitulum, Lecticula.

[75] Above, p. lxij. From a hasty examination I am inclined to think that a capitularium is bound up with a "collectare" among the manuscripts in Corpus Christi college, Oxford, no. 192.

probably limited to monks or priests who were living in community. This is the Liber collationum. At that time I had not seen a copy, nor even met with any reference to one. A copy, however, was among the manuscripts which formerly belonged to Ford abbey, in Devonshire. It is a thick folio, upon vellum, written in a bold hand of the middle of the fifteenth century; and is remarkable also as having English rubrics. It contains the short lections and homilies which were read at various times of the year, chiefly during Lent, at collation; whence doubtless its name: which in later years came to be used for any sermon or homily.

Ducange says: "Collatio, apud monachos præsertim, dicitur sacrorum librorum lectio, quæ statis horis, maxime post cœnam, coram iis fiebat:" and he proceeds to cite various orders of foreign councils to this effect. But that these lections, at least in England, were not limited to extracts from sacred writers is evident from the Ford abbey manuscript, which has also sermons or homilies.

William of Malmesbury, speaking of bishop Wulstan, among other things says: "collationem quoque frequenter intererat."[76] We learn from the pseudo-Ingulph that about the same time some classes of the monks of Croyland were privileged as regarded the collation: "omnes de secundo gradu—sint absoluti de lectura martyrologii et collationis in capitulo,—et omnibus talibus minoribus chori et claustri laboribus."[77] Once more, some monastic or hospital statutes are printed in the *Auctarium*, at the end of the history of Matthew Paris: among them, one "*de*

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[76] *De gestis pontif. Angl.* p. 159 *b*.

[77] *Hist.* p. 105.

lectione legenda in mensa. Ut fratres sacerdotes dum in mensa fuerint consedentes, nedum corporum sed etiam animarum capiant alimenta, præcipimus quod dum fratres sacerdotes in mensa fuerint congregati, legat unus literatus coram eis per aliquod competens temporis spatium, aut de biblia aut de scriptura sacra alia, lectionem; quem dum in legendo fuerit, fratres silentium tenendo, attente audiant et auscultent."[78]

Cardinal Wolsey, in the year 1519, drew up some statutes for the regular canons of St. Augustine: of which one is directed to the collation.[79] In the royal injunctions of 1536 there is an order referring to "all sermones, and other collations."[80] Again, in the same year, a royal letter to the bishops commands each "to travel from place to place in all his diocese, and endeavour himself every holiday to make a collation to the people."[81] Once more, the bishop of London, in 1542, admonished his clergy what they were to teach in their "preachings, open sermons, and collations."[82] I have quoted these, as illustrative of the meaning of the term, down to the period at which it became, in such a sense, obsolete.

Among the books in the chapter library at Durham is a catalogue of that library written in the twelfth century: more than four hundred volumes. At the end of the catalogue is a note giving us some information about collations: "Hii sunt libri qui leguntur ad collationem. Vitæ patrum. Diadema monachorum. Effrem cum vitis Egiptiorum. Para-

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[78] p. 1164.

[79] Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 686.

[80] *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 814.

[81] *Ibid.* p. 825.

[82] *Ibid.* p. 866.

disus. Speculum. Dialogus. Pastoralis eximius liber. Ysidorus de summo bono. Prosper de contemplativa vita. Liber Odonis. Johannes Cassianus. Decem collationes." We can decide from this list the style of spiritual reading adopted in religious communities during their meals.

Dr. Oliver in the *Monasticon diœcesis Exoniensis* mentions a manuscript which formerly belonged to the priory of St. Andrew's, Cornwall, containing several books bound together: among them thirty-three homilies, which from the description given by the learned author seem to have been the "liber collationum" of that priory. He says: "One of these was read at the collation or evening refreshment granted to the community before complin, on most of the weekdays in Lent: viz. from the first Monday until the last Wednesday inclusively; for no collation was allowed on the four first days, nor on the last three days of that penitential season."[83] This would certainly account for the number thirty-three in this case; but the use of Ford abbey was different; as they had "collations" not only at other penitential seasons of the year, as I have already mentioned, but the manuscript contains, "On asche wedensday a collacion;" followed by, "For the fyrst weke of clene Lent a collacion."

I would make one further extract; from a writer of great authority on the discipline of monastic houses: "tempore jejunii fiat signum ad collationem parum ante completorium, quo audito statim omnes

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[83] p. 36. "In more ancient times the lecture was taken from one of the twenty-four *Collationes patrum* or conferences of the fathers in the desert, and by degrees the refreshment itself obtained the name of collation." *Monast. diœc. Exon.*

fratres ad refectorium vadant, quibus residentibus lector dicat: *Jube domne benedicere:* et detur benedictio; videlicet, *Noctem quietam, &c.* Et postquam lector aliquantulum legerit, dato signo a præsidente, statim lector dicat *Benedicite*, et data benedictione per prælatum, videlicet, *Potum servorum, &c.* bibant, qui volunt, lectore continuante lectionem. Omnes sacerdotes, solo decano excepto, ad collationem legant; excipiuntur etiam, qui per gravem infirmitatem, aut negotiis monasterii impediti hoc facere nequiverint. Qua collatione finita, prælatus dicat, *Adjutorium nostrum, &c.* deinde ordinate vadant ad ecclesiam, et immediate completorium dicant cum confessione generali, quæ et in primis dicatur."[84]

Of the Tonale I remember to have heard or seen but one example. Neither Ducange,[85] Carpentier, Zaccaria, nor Spelman mentions the name. But among the manuscripts of the dean and chapter of Salisbury, bound up with the copy of their ordinale of Sarum, is the tonale. The title is, "Tonale secundum usum Sarum et universalis ecclesiæ." The book is imperfect, wanting the end: how much, I

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[84] Amort, *Vetus disciplina canonicorum*, pars 5. cap. vj.

Early in the sixteenth century the term "collation" seems to have meant any sermon. One of the statutes of the guild of Jesus in St. Paul's, London, is that on the feast of the Name of Jesus: "If the deane of the seid chirche syng the masse, and make a collacion at the same masse, he shall haue six shillings eight pens; and if enny persone othir than the seid deane make a collacion," &c. Simpson's *Registrum stat. S. Pauli*, p. 448.

[85] The Chorale must not be confounded with the tonale or the cantorinus; it is an arrangement or rather a selection, apparently according to the taste of the editor, of certain hymns and antiphons with their notation; nor do I know any corresponding book of English use.

cannot say. Neither can I give the reader more than a mere idea of the contents and object of the book, because I am ignorant of music, of musical terms, and practice. As the name would suggest, it is a treatise upon the tones used in ecclesiastical singing, with examples. Each tone has many differences, and these again more or fewer variations, according to which the rest of the psalm or antiphon &c. was, if I mistake not, to be sung. The examples are sometimes the conclusion, sometimes the beginning of an antiphon or hymn, or canticle; for instance, the Te Deum, venite, magnificat, as the case may be. But an extract from nearly the commencement will supply probably a much better explanation than I have space to give, even if I understood more of the subject: "Ad primam differentiam primi toni quæ incipit in desolre descendendo in resaut et statim saltat ad desolreut per effaut et postea ab effaut per gesolreut et sine gesolreut ascendit ad alamire: sic," &c. Then follows the example, and, immediately after, "secunda variatio."

A book of the same kind, called Cantorinus, of which a copy is now before me, was printed at Venice in the year 1550, 8vo. The title is, "Cantorinus: ad eorum instructionem, qui cantum ad chorum pertinentem breviter et quamfacillime discere concupiscunt; et non clericis modo, sed omnibus etiam divino cultui deditis, perquam utilis, et necessarius. In quo facilis modus est additus ad discendam manum; ac tonos psalmorum," &c. This contains at the beginning a short treatise, and the "musical Hand;" both of which are reprinted in the *Sacerdotale Rom.*, 4to. Venet. 1588. After which are

various intonations of hymns, antiphons, verses, &c. upon the method of the tonale ad usum Sarum.[86]

The Authenticum seems to have been a book in which the various antiphons and responses were contained as they were to be sung, in their proper order: that is, of the particular service or office for which it was arranged. I am not aware of any English example, though very possibly such a book was in use, and the name of it still to be found in old chronicles and records. Ducange cites three instances of the word, all however from one author, Guido discipl. Farfen. The term occurs also in Eckhard, *de cas. S. Galli*, cap. iv. I am unwilling to pass it by altogether, without a brief remark.

Much more important than the books which I have just spoken of was the Martyrologium. This contained for each day in the year the names of those saints and martyrs whose deaths or sufferings had been recorded. From the earliest ages of the Church proper officers were appointed to collect all authentic details of the martyrdoms which, having been approved, were entered in books kept for that purpose. But the full accounts collected in the Roman records, the great storehouse, are supposed to have perished in the Diocletian persecutions, and scarcely more than small portions were preserved.[87] Succeeding ages mixed up, if not false, certainly doubtful particulars with the fragments which re-

[86] We find *Tonarius* in the glossary of Ducange: "Liber de tonis seu cantu. Trithemius narrat Aurelianum scripsisse tonarium." But the tonarius or rather tonarium or *tonorium* appears more properly to have been a musical instrument; a pitch-pipe.

[87] Cf. tract. Cæsaris Baronii *de martyr. Romano*, cap. iij, prefixed to the edition of the *Martyrology*, fol. Rom. 1748.

mained of the originals, and it was at length ordered that nothing should be read in the martyrology except the name and date of the martyrdom of the saint.[88] To this was afterwards added a most brief account of the manner of the death: nothing more than "gladio percussus," or "per ignem martyrium consummavit," or such like. It was in having these additions, small as they are, that the martyrology differed from the calendar: which latter contained merely the name of the saint attached to the particular day, and seldom more than one, for whom a special office was appointed: but the martyrology on the other hand again often spoke of many whose "natal days" were one and the same. Another distinction has been laid down, viz. that the calendar varied with various churches, whilst the martyrology was common to the whole Church, admitting all martyrs of every age and nation. This is, however, no more true of one than of the other, especially in England before the suppression of the old service books, which are my proper subject: neither is it exact now that the revised martyrology has been so generally adopted in the communion of the Roman catholic church, for it is not only allowed but required that saints especially honoured in this

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[88] Such seems to have been the practice in the time of St. Gregory: "Nos pene omnium martyrum, distinctis per dies singulos passionibus, collecta in uno codice nomina habemus, atque quotidianis diebus in eorum veneratione missarum solemnia agimus: non tamen eodem volumine, quis, qualiter sit passus, indicatur; sed tantum locus et dies passionis ponitur. Unde fit, ut multi ex diversis terris atque provinciis per dies (ut prædixi) singulos cognoscantur martyrio coronati." Epist. 29, *Ad eulogium;* Baronius, cap. viij.

or that particular place or district should be especially named in addition to those in the universal catalogue, if I may so call it; martyrs after martyrs, confessors after confessors, each in his own order.[89]

The time of reading the martyrology according to the rubric of the present Roman breviary is daily in choir at prime (of which however it is not a part, but an addition) before the verse "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini." But anciently in England, whatever may have been the practice in parish churches, I believe that the martyrology was read in the chapter-house of the cathedral or monastery.[90]

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[89] "Notandum quod licet multi dederint operam ad compilandum martyrologium: tamen tres fuerunt majoris auctoritatis, qui opus hujusmodi tradiderunt. ℭ Primus fuit Ieronimus: cujus operi præmittuntur duæ epistolæ, videlicet duorum episcoporum ad ipsum, et ipsius ad eos: inferius notatæ. ℭ Secundus fuit Beda: cujus operi assignatur secundus prologus, qui sic incipit: *Festivitates.* ℭ Tertius fuit Usuardus: cujus est tertius prologus infra notatus: et ejus opus magis habetur in usu apud multas ecclesias. Quæ etiam ejus operi creduntur aliqua in locis variis addidisse: præcipue de sanctis et festis pertinentibus specialiter ad easdem. Et hujus est martyrologium subscriptum, quod nos pro majori parte duximus eligendum præ aliis et tenendum." Harleian MS. 295. Then follow the prefaces, occupying three folios. After these the martyrology.

Hals in his *History of Cornwall* uses a word of which I can find no other example, nor is there any notice of it in Ducange. It would seem to mean without doubt a martyrology. He is speaking of the parish of St. Erme: "St. Herme, after he had suffer'd many torments, had his head chopp'd off by the common hangman, the 28th day of August, as the Agonal saith." It is scarcely likely that Hals invented the title; yet where did he meet with it?

[90] See the capitular acts passed at a provincial chapter of the black friars, in 1426; *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 436.

The martyrology which once belonged to the monastery of Syon, a manuscript of the fifteenth century now in the British museum, directs at the end of the

In the Sarum missals, the first rubric commonly is of the benediction of water and salt: and begins, "Omnibus dominicis post primam et capitulum." It was at this capitulum, which was held daily after prime, that the martyrology was read, and the portion which related to any one day was appointed for the day preceding. We may refer as an authority to the consuetudinary of the church of Lichfield, cap. 1: "Pulsata vero prima, statim dicatur ipsa hora in choro. Qua finita, chorus capitulum intret, et ibi legatur martyrologium. Post sequatur 'pretiosa' cum suis orationibus."[91]

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calendar how the martyrology should be read. First, the day of the month should be named; then the full roll of martyrs for that day; "*et semper finiatur ita:* Et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum martyrum, confessorum, atque virginum;" then the obits to be observed upon the same day.

This very important record contains, first, the obits for every day of the year; with blank spaces left to be filled in; these occupy folios 21 to 69: then come two or three leaves of the names of special benefactors: and the martyrology itself runs on to the end of the volume, from fol. 77 to 188. Additional MS. 22,285.

The student will find much information about the martyrology in the writers upon the breviary: particularly in Azevedo, *de div. off. exerc.* xxxvj; and Martene, *de ant. monach. rit.* lib. 1. cap. 5. The last gives a full acccount of the rules which were observed in reading it in monasteries in his own time.

[91] I must here add from the same consuetudinary so much of the order of the proceedings "in capitulo" as has reference to the martyrology: which may be compared with the extract, p. clxxiij, from the Sarum MS. After *orationibus* in the text, follows: "*Deinde dicatur psalmus,* Deus misereatur nostri, *cum* Gloria Patri, Kyrie eleyson, Christe eleyson, Kyrie eleyson, Pater noster, Et ne nos, Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas, Ostende nobis, Deus, misericordiam tuam, Mitte eis Domine, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Ecclesiæ quæsumus, Domine preces. *Et in fine orationis,* Et nos famulos tuos ab omni adversitate custodi per Dominum nostrum. *Si non sequatur memoria vel oratio, tunc finiatur*

And another, from an ancient body of statutes of the time of Edward the first drawn up for the hospital of St. Leonard, York: "pulsata vero prima, ingrediantur omnes chorum: et dicta prima ingrediantur capitulum, puero turribulario cum tabula præeunte, qui ibidem legat lectionem martilogii; qua lecta, legat tabulam: postea ebdomadarius dicat *Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini*," &c.[92] Again, the following from the very valuable manuscript ordinale already spoken of (p. xlix) of bishop Grandisson. At the end of prime, follows: "Hiis dictis eant clerici in capitulum processionaliter. Et omnibus in locis suis sedentibus . . quidam puer de prima forma indutus superpelliceo . . paratus ad legendum lectionem de martilogio, absque, *Jube domne*: sed pronunciando primo loco numerum nonarum, iduum, kalendarum, et ætatem lunæ, qualis erit in crastino. Secundum quod dies videbitur exigere. Et finiatur lectio sine *Tu autem*. . . Statimque sacerdos post lectionem martilogii, si quis obitus tunc pronuncietur,

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cum, per Christum dominum. *Si vero memoria pro vivo sequatur, statim post pronunciationem dicatur psalmus* Levavi *cum* Gloria Patri, Kyrie eleyson, Verba, Salvum fac, Mitte ei, Nihil proficiet, Dominus vobiscum, Oratio, Prætende, Domine faciem, Per dominum nostrum, *nisi sequatur oratio. Post cujus pronunciationem dicatur*, De profundis, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster, Et ne nos, Requiem æternam, A porta, Credo, Dominus vobiscum, Oremus, Deus indulgentiarum. *Si anniversarius dies non fuerit, tunc* Fidelium Deus omnium, *et oratio pro benefactoribus, et pro fratribus finiendo* per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum. *Deinde legatur tabula, quæ non legatur nisi in sabbatis, vel in vigiliis duplicium festorum. Quibus peractis sileant omnes, donec dignior persona, quæ in capitulo fuerit, dicat* Benedictus, *et respondeant* Dominus. *Et sic negotia tractentur, quæ in capitulo fuerint tractanda*." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 496.

[92] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglic.* vol. 6. p. 610.

respondeat, *Anima ejus et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant.* Chorus respondeat, *Amen,*" &c.[93]

And lastly the high authority, though the extract may be long, of the Sarum consuetudinary: "*De ordinatione clericorum in capitulo.* Sedent autem in capitulo clerici hoc ordine. Proximus episcopo a dextris sedet decanus, dehinc cancellarius, deinde archidiaconus Dorset, dehinc archidiaconus Wiltesir, deinde subdecanus: a sinistris autem cantor, thesaurarius, archidiaconus Berkes, alius archidiaconus Wiltes, succentor. Proximi autem ipsis personis sedent canonici presbyteri, deinde canonici diaconi, subdiaconi, hinc inde, deinde vicarii, presbyteri, postea cæteri de superiori gradu vicarii. Deinde canonici de secunda forma: deinde, diaconi, subdiaconi, minorum ordinum clerici de eadem forma. Pueri vero, sive fuerint canonici sive non, stent ante alios in area ex utraque parte pulpiti, suo ordine dispositi. In primis, puer quidam legat lectionem de martirlegio, sine 'Jube domne' et sine 'Tu autem, Domine,' in superpelliceo. Finita lectione, obitus si qui fuerint pronunciet. Sacerdos vero stans post lectorem: si qui pronuncientur obitus, respondeat: 'Animæ eorum et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace.' Deinde dicat: 'Pretiosa est in conspectu,' et cætera quæ ad illam horam pertinent. Quibus finitis, puer lector aliam lectionem

[93] Folio xviij. Students who wish to examine further into the whole subject will do well to consult the martyrology of the cathedral church of Dublin, which has been excellently edited from the original for the Irish archæological society: and an introduction was written for it by Dr. Todd.

cum 'Jube domne' incipiat; et eandem cum 'Tu autem, Domine,' finiat. Sacerdos autem, facta benedictione ad lectionem, in loco suo se recipiat. Puer vero, finita lectione, a pulpito descendat, et tabulam legat."[94]

It may be well to quote one or two passages from the edition of the martyrology—I believe the only English printed edition of which copies remain—by Wynkyn de Worde in 1526. Let us take the first day of the year and one of the shortest days in the middle of the volume:—

"Tomorrowe the fyrst day of January shall be the feest of the circumcysyon of our lord and sauyour Chryst Jesu, wherin he fyrst shed his precyous blode for our redempcyon. At rome the feest of saynt Almache a martyr that prechynge vnto the people, sayd vnto them in this maner. This daye (sayd he) is the octaue, or eyght daye of the byrth of our sauyour, wherfore ye people cease and put awaye your superstycyous, your false religyon, and your worshyppynge of ydolles, and leue also your vnlawfull games. For the whiche wordes he was forthwith put to deth by the commaundement of the mayre and chefe offycer. At rome also the feest of .lx. soudyours or men of warre, that for Chryst were put to deth by the emperour Diocleciane. At rome also the feest of saynt Martyne a virgyn, that vnder the emperour Alexander was put to many dyuerse turmentes, and at the last heded. At the cyte of Spolete, the feest of saynt Concorde a martyr, that in the tyme of Antonyne the emperour was fyrst beten with staues, than hanged on a gybet,

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[94] *Registrum S. Osmundi*, fol. vj.

and after taken in to pryson a longe tyme fast fettred, and so pyned and nere famysshed, where notwithstandynge he was conforted by aungels, and at the last he ended his martyrdome slayne by the swerde. In Cesary the chefe cyte of Capadoce, the deposicyon of saynt Basyle a bysshop, whose chefe feest is kepte the .xiiij. daye of June. In Affryke the feest of saynt Fulgence bysshop of the chirche of ruspence, that for the fayth of Chryst, and for his noble doctryne, was exiled a longe tyme: but at the last he returned vnto his chirche and there honourable in lyuyng and diligent in prechynge he made a holy ende. In the terrytory or fraunchest of Lyons the feest of saynt Augend an abbot, whose lyfe, full of vertue and myracles, was grete lyght and good example vnto the people. In Alexander the feest of saynt Eufrosyne a virgyn.

"¶ Addycyons.

"¶ The feest also of an other saynt Fulgence that was bysshop of Utruculane, a man of grete holynes, that by myracle was delyvered from the cruelty of the kynge of Gotes. The feest also of saynt Odyle a holy abbot and of many myracles, moche liberal in almes, pyteous and mercyful in all correccyon, that whan he was chalenged and rebuked for prodygalite in expences, and as remysse and negligent in correccyon, he answered, sayenge, that yf he sholde be dampned, he had lever it were for mercy than for rygour. The feest also of many other holy payntes, martyrs, confessours and virgyns. This last clause, if many other sayntes, &c., must euer be redde last."

"¶ Tomorowe.

"¶ The fourth day of June. In sythe at ylliricum the feest of saynt Quiryne a bysshop, that for the

fayth (as Prudence wryteth) was tyed vnto a mylstone, and cast into a flode, where notwithstandyng he flowed and preched vnto the chrystyans that stode vpon the londe, and moche conforted them vnto martyrdom, and after by his owne prayer he drowned. At niuedune the feest of saynt zotyke, saynt Attale and saynt Eutyke martyrs. The deposicyon also of saynt Patryke a confessour.

"¶ Addicyons.

"¶ The feest also of .xliiij. martyrs, that by saynt Syryke and saynt Julite were conuerted, and put to martyrdom by the emperour Alexander. The feest also of many other [holy sayntes, martyrs, confessours, and virgyns]."

Here is the proper place to speak of the Liber graduum, which was occasionally read in some churches every day together with the martyrology. It is sometimes found bound up at the end of the same volume with the martyrologium: of which a most noble manuscript of Salisbury use (Harleian 2785) in the British museum is an example. This is lettered *missal*, but it is a breviary with a calendar in the middle and a martyrology, and at the end the gradus. Again, in the Bodleian is a manuscript of the same kind (Bodley 893): a martyrology and liber de gradibus. The rubric prefixed to this last, in the Bodleian copy, sufficiently explains the contents of the book and the manner in which (where adopted) it was to be used.

"Incipit liber de gradibus virtutum, a sancto Ambrosio ordinatus, quibus ad cœleste Jerusalem item ad patriam angelorum supernam itinere recte ascenditur ab omni perseverante, et potest legi ad primam post martilogium, itaque quando luna est

prima legatur primus gradus scalæ, et sic deinceps. Tamen in ecclesia Sarum legitur Hamo, sed qui illum non habet potest legere gradus scalæ virtutum a sancto Ambrosio compositæ, et sic debent legi: cum luna prima, primus gradus, cum luna secunda, secundus gradus, et sic semper usque ad aliam lunam primam et tunc reincipiatur. Primus gradus.

"Primus gradus hujus sanctissimæ scalæ est fides recta cum operibus justitiæ," &c.[95] Although a book very rarely to be met with at present the liber graduum is not unfrequent in the old catalogues. For instance, it occurs among the Peterborough books.[96]

The martyrology must not be confounded with a volume sometimes so called, portions of which were occasionally, if not daily, read at the capitulum: and which more properly was the necrology or Necrologium.[97] In this were written the names of benefactors and illustrious members of the Church, for whom prayers were to be offered or commemorations

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[95] Another copy of this liber de gradibus which I have examined (Harleian MS. 2785) gives a somewhat different order how it was to be read. After *reincipiatur* it continues: "*sic dicens*, Jube domne benedicere: *sacerdos dicat benedictionem: sed quando chorus regitur, simpliciter:* Ille nos benedicat qui sine fine vivit et regnat. *In festis duplicibus:* Omnipotens Deus sua gratia nos benedicat. *Et tandem lectio finiat cum* Tu autem. *Et hæc lectio semper legatur post orationem*, Omnipotens sempiterne Deus *vel* Dirigere et sanctificare. *In omnibus profestis diebus videlicet ante ps.* Levavi, *quando dicitur: et quando non dicitur* Levavi, *tunc dicatur* Benedic Domine."

[96] Gunton, p. 180.

[97] White Kennett has plainly confused the two books, in the glossary prefixed to his *Parochial antiquities*.

made. Such was the book which Bede mentions, "Quærant in suis codicibus in quibus defunctorum est annotata depositio, et invenient illum hac, ut diximus, die raptum esse de sæculo."[98] From what follows, this book seems then to have been called Annalis: "credidit ergo presbyter, ac statim egressus requisivit in annali suo," &c. The person whose death was enquired for was St. Oswald, who afterwards was enrolled in the martyrology. The necrologium is the book referred to in the Croyland history: "quam sibi concessimus" the writer says (speaking of a favour granted by the monastery to one of a class which in those days as in later days oftener took without asking from the Church) "et nomen ejus et uxoris ejus fratrum nostrorum martyrologio inscribi consensimus."[99] And, again, it seems to have been that which is called Tabula, in the extract above, from the constitutions (if I may so speak of

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[98] Beda, *Hist. ecclesiastica*, lib. iv. cap. 14. Compare also the seventeenth canon of the contemporary council of Clovesho: "Ut dies natalitius beati papæ Gregorii, et dies quoque depositionis, qui est vij kalendas Junii, sancti Augustini archiepiscopi et confessoris, qui genti Anglorum missus a præfato papa et patre nostro Gregorio, scientiam fidei, baptismi sacramentum, et cœlestis patriæ notitiam primus adtulit, ab omnibus, sicut decet, honorifice venerantur." Stubbs, *Councils*, etc. vol. 3. p. 368.

[99] *Historia Croylandensis*, p. 78. Ducange explains how the necrology and the martyrology came to be thus confounded: "Sequioribus sæculis, maxime apud monachos, martyrologium laxius sumptum, pro necrologio seu obituario et regula, quod fere semper in eodem volumine martyrologium, obituarium, et regula ordinis descripta legerentur." The Rule was bound up in the same volume, because at the Chapter in which the martyrology was read (after that and some other offices) it was generally the custom to enquire into any infrigements which had been made against the rule by members of the convent, and into other matters connected with the due order of the fraternity.

them) of St. Leonard, York.[1] Or, once more, in very early times the "White book" or Album.[2]

Among the Lambeth manuscripts no. 20 is a large folio, containing various books: at the beginning is a martyrology of the church of Canterbury; at the end a very complete obituarium or necrologium. I am the more disposed to mention this on account of the title which archbishop Sancroft has given to it, written with his own hand upon the first leaf. He calls it a Mortilogium: but it is not so named in an ancient table of the contents prefixed to the volume. Another name by which the book was called, as in the Sarum consuetudinary, was Martilegium; which

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[1] I suggest this, with great doubt, against the opinion of Ducange: who explains the *tabula* to have been always the table in which were entered the names of the officers of a monastery, appointed to perform certain duties during the current or ensuing week. Or perhaps, and more probably, the *tabula* of the St. Leonard statute was that which was also called *brevis*, and *matricula:* in which was inscribed the order of the public worship, matins, the hours, mass, &c. for the space of a week.

One of the statutes of the hospital of St. Julian, drawn up by Michael abbot of St. Alban's, in the thirteenth century, gives a good explanation of the tabula: "Ut labor inter fratres absque murmure facilius supportetur, statuimus ut fratres sacerdotes secundum cursum suum, ad matutinas et alias horas canonicas et missas diversas, ut præmittitur celebrandas, per aliquem qui per magistrum ad hoc fuerit deputatus, in tabula conscribantur: qui cum intabulati fuerint, officia ad quæ fuerint intitulati, obedienter et humiliter exequantur," &c. Matt. Paris, *Auct.* p. 1164.

[2] "Sed, et me defuncto, pro redemptione animæ meæ orare, et missas facere, et nomen meum inter vestra scribere dignemini. Nam et tu hoc te mihi promisisse jam retines, in cujus etiam testimonio futuræ conscriptionis religioso fratri vestro Gulfrido mansionario præcipisti, ut in albo vestræ sanctæ congregationis meum nunc quoque nomen opponeret." Beda, *Hist.* tom. 2. p. 47.

Ducange admits into his glossary, upon the authority of White Kennett: "Ordinavimus quod cum contigerit eundem Edmundum ab hac luce migrare, ut nomina omnium supradictorum cum obitu eorum in nostro martilegio inserantur," &c.[3]

Sometimes, but I should suppose rarely, this book of commemorations or necrology was even laid upon the altar: as in the case of the famous book (still extant) of the benefactors of St. Cuthbert's church, Durham. "There did lye on the high altar an excellent fine booke, very richly covered with gold and silver, conteininge the names of all the benefactors, from the first originall foundation thereof. . . . the layinge that booke on the altar did shew how highly they esteemed theire founders and benefactors, and the dayly and quotidian remembrance they had of them did argue not onely theire gratitude but a most divine and charitable affection to the soules of their benefactors," &c.[4]

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[3] *Antiq. Ambrosden*, p. 626. Within the last hundred years the Exeter liber obitalis was in the library of the dean and chapter, according to the old catalogue. I regret to say, upon the authority of the chapter clerk, that no such book is now to be found there. In the British museum, the Cotton manuscript Nero, c. ix. contains two necrologies: these are differently arranged; one divided into various compartments in which blanks are left, evidently intended to be filled up in the course of time; the other, after the form of a common calendar, but having only *obits*. Besides the copy at Lambeth, a very fine liber obitalis of the church of Canterbury is preserved at Trinity hall, Cambridge.

A liber mortuorum occurs in the ancient catalogue of the Glastonbury abbey books, before alluded to. But I do not think there is sufficient evidence to show that it was such an obituary as those described above; or, indeed, what the book certainly was.

[4] *Rites of the church of Durham*, p. 14.

Among the statutes drawn up for the new college of St. Mary Ottery in Devon, by bishop Grandisson its founder, is one (the seventy-fourth) which refers to the mode of entering obits and of reciting them: "De obitibus vero taliter statuimus et ordinamus, quod ante martyrologium per se in kalendare, ubi nulla festa sanctorum nisi duplicia scribantur et non infra martyrologium, et quæ sunt solemnia, et quæ simplicia, specificentur; ita quod quotidie lector martyrologii respiciat in ipso kalendare, tam quotam lunæ quam obitum diei sequentis."

The day of the "obit" was not always the day of the death of the individual, as Dr. Todd has observed in his preface to the Dublin martyrology.[5] Care, therefore, must be taken in deciding on the ground of such an entry only the date of the decease. Thus, in a very early canon, the seventeenth of the council of Cloveshoo in 747, the day of the burial is ordered to be observed as an obit.[6]

The calendars of any service books, where regular necrologies were not kept, were used for the purposes of entering obits and annual festivals to be observed. William of Worcester mentions in his itinerary many such:[7] and numberless manuscripts still extant prove the same thing. In the very curious inventory of effects belonging to Sir John Fastolfe[8] in the fifteenth century "j. mortellege" is named, belonging to his chapel. The editor in a note explains this to have been the martyrology; an explanation which I much doubt, and would rather decide it to have been the book of obits observed in that family. It is

[5] p. xxix.

[6] Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. I. p. 97.

[7] For example, p. 107.

[8] Printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. 21.

scarcely probable that the reading of the martyrology would have formed a part of the services and devotions of a private household.[9]

The martyrologium occurs among the books given to Exeter cathedral by bishop Leofric, as well as frequently in other ancient inventories. It is entered often under its English name of *martiloge.* Many copies also of manuscript English martyrologies are still extant in our great libraries: and a few of the English translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde, mentioned above.

One word ought to be added as to a book of the same character as the martyrology, although I do not remember to have seen any copy with such a title, either in print or manuscript, for English use. This was the Viola sanctorum. It seems to have been drawn up by some private and anonymous person, and (judging from a copy in 4to. printed at Nuremberg, in 1486, now lying before me) the chief

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[9] A very general custom to be traced up to Anglo-saxon times prevailed in the middle ages, of sending from one cathedral or monastery to others throughout England the name of any great ecclesiastic recently dead, to be entered on the list of persons to be prayed for in the community to whom it was sent. The bearer sometimes visited every county or diocese in England: and as he went on, added to a roll which he carried with him the consent of the monastery or church which admitted the name of the deceased. It is hardly probable that there was ever any refusal. Some few of these old rolls still exist. One, among the manuscripts at Durham, is thirteen yards in length. On a leaf in the Leofric MS. in the Bodleian is a request from an abbess to the bishop for admission to such an interchange of prayers. In St. John's college library at Cambridge is the roll which was sent round after the death of a prioress at Lillichurch about the year 1290, with three hundred names of admission attached.

variation consists in a somewhat longer, though still brief, explanation of the festivals of our Lord.

CHAPTER IX.

WE come now to a book, the title of which at least is probably better known to the reader than any we have hitherto met with; and of which certainly in manuscript, if not also of the printed editions, more copies are to be found in public and private libraries than of any other service book of the English Church. I may add that a careful examination of these will too often show many of them to be imperfect. This book is the "Horæ beatæ virginis Mariæ." Strictly it was not a service-book of the Church but originally compiled and intended for the use of the laity. Hence it varied much in its contents: sometimes containing only the offices of the hours of our Lady; sometimes with a litany and a few occasional prayers in addition; sometimes again we find it a volume of very considerable size, containing also the dirge, the seven penitential psalms, and numerous other offices and prayers. Being especially the prayer-book of the laity, the rich and noble among them adorned their Horæ with lavish expense: and many of the most gorgeous manuscripts which have come down to us are of this class, enriched with exquisite illuminations, miniatures, armorial bearings, and portraits of the owners; with pictures of the life and sufferings of our blessed Lord, and of the saints and martyrs; or illustrations of the offices, such as of the vigils and burial of the dead.

Occasionally in the horæ we find collections of

autographs of the friends of the original possessors, and properly used it was a book well adapted for such memorials. I happen to possess [1846] a most remarkable example of this kind;[10] indeed I know none to be compared with it, containing as it does several royal autographs. The book itself is a thick 4to. manuscript upon vellum, of about the year 1470; but there is no entry or memorandum by which the first owner, certainly a lady, may be traced. She seems to have been attached to the court, and was probably high in office and in rank. The illuminations, both large and small, are very numerous: sufficiently well-executed to prove that great pains were bestowed in finishing the book. The beginning of each office is surrounded with wide borders of fruit, flowers, and birds, upon a gold ground. In it are, 1. a calendar, illuminated and with borders. 2. Fifteen prayers to our blessed Lord.[11] 3. Commemorations of saints. 4. The hours: "Incipiunt hore beate marie virginis secundum vsum Sarum." 5. Various short offices and prayers. 6. The seven penitential psalms. 7. The fifteen psalms. 8. Vigils of the dead. 9. The commendations. 10. The psalms of the Passion. 11. Psalter of St. Jerom. 12. A "prayer of Saynt Thomas of Aquyne, translatyd out of latyn ynto Englyshe by the moste exselent Prynces,[12] Mary, doughter to the moste hygh and myghty Prynce and Prynces kyng Henry the .viij. and *Quene Kateryn hys wyfe.*[13] In the yere

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[10] Now in the British museum.

[11] "The fifteen Oos:" which are printed in vol. 3. p. 275.

[12] Erased and blotted with ink.

[13] Blotted, but still legible. This book must have fallen into the possession of some one about 1535 or 1540 who was

of oure lorde god M.cccccxxvij. And the xj. yere of here age." This and the prayer in a later hand.[14]

The above contents compared with the following from another manuscript "ad usum Sarum" of an earlier date, about 1350,[15] will show that they varied but little in their contents. This also has a calendar, the hours, the seven penitential psalms: the xv psalms: the litany: dirge: commendations: and prayers of the Passion.

Not only were manuscripts ornamented and richly illuminated; many of the printed editions, especially those from the foreign presses and of Paris in particular, are matchless specimens of typography, decorated with an almost endless variety of woodcuts, large and small, in the style and manner of

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an ardent partisan of the legality of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and consequently of the nullity of his first marriage. The date of the erasure can scarcely be later than 1540.

[14] The reader will find this prayer reprinted in vol. 3. p. 287. The following are among the autographs, upon blank pages or in the margins: "Madame I pray you Remembre me, your louying maister. Henry. R." (*Henry VII.*) Below this: "Madam I pray you forget not me to pray to god that I may haue part of your prayers. Elysabeth ye quene." (*Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII.*) "Henry. R." (*Henry VIII.*) "I thinke the prayres of a frend be most acceptable vnto god, and because I take you for one of myn assured I pray you to remembre me in yours. By Katherina . . ." (*Queen Katherine of Arragon.*) The last two words, probably "the Queen," are blotted with ink; nor am I quite certain whether the name, which is partially blotted, is Katherine or Katherina. These two last autographs are also on one page. Nearly at the end of the volume is: "I haue red that no bodye lyuethe as he shulde doo but he that foloweth vertu and I rekenyng you to be one of them I pray you to remembre me yn your deuocyons. Marye . . ." (*Queen Mary*, when princess: which title has been also, as in the case of her mother, blotted with ink.)

[15] In my possession.

the earlier illuminations: with calendars illustrated with designs representing the character or occupations of each month, and with margins covered with grotesque borders, or little representations of sacred histories, or the dance of death. Among such editions those by Kerver and by Simon Vostre of Paris are the most beautiful.

I have entered at some length into the subject of the horæ, in another part of this work,[16] to which the reader may refer; and it is therefore only necessary to add the full table of contents of one of these complete editions.

Title, "Hore presentes ad vsum Sarum impresse fuerunt Parisiis pro Symone vostre: librario commorante ibidem: in vico nuncupato nouo beate Marie, in intersignio sancti Johannis euangeliste." 8vo. 1507.

At the end, "¶ The contentis of thys booke.

The kalender.

The foye[17] gospelles. And the passion. A prayer

[16] Dissertation on the Prymer in English.

[17] The reader must remember that this and very many editions of English books of that age were printed abroad; and therefore would (not improbably) have numerous errors in those instances in which the foreign tongue was corrected by people who commonly knew but little of it. This will account for such a word as *foye*, evidently intended for *four*. To give an idea of French printing of English I would take the following extract from a most curious edition of the *Manner to live and to die well*, printed by Verard, at Paris; about 1490, folio. It is part of one of the pains of hell, immediately below a descriptive and most horrible woodcut: "Thayr was oon greyt qwantyte of saowllys of men & women that war glowttons, et so gret oon nombyr that wyth payn they myght nombyr them. the qwych inpunyshon of theyr glowtonny was fyllyt by the dewyllys of padokys, serpentys, et heddars, and aspys, et others

to the trinite. auxiliatrix. Another. piissime deus. Crux triumphalis. Wyth the colet of the thre kynges.

To the crosse. Crucem tuam.

To answere the preest atte masse whan he sayth, Orate pro me fratres.

O anima christi.

In entryng the chirche and takyng holy water. Domine in multitudine. aqua benedicta. Discedite a me.

O bone iesu tu nouisti.

A prayer for carnal delectacion.

Another for tentacion of the flesche.

Another for very penaunce.[18]

A prayer for diuerse oures of the day.

A prayer of seynt augustin. in the nyge (*night*).

A prayer of seynt anselme.

Pater noster. Aue maria: and Credo.

A confession general. Suscipere digneris.

A prayer atte gyuyng of pax.

A prayer tofore thou receyue the sacrament. Another whan thou hast receyued it. Certnyn (*certain*) collectis for synnes. For unclen thoughtis. For the king. For thy frend lyuing. For way

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bestys, wenymews and abbrewyt. . . Et theyr vas theyr Beelphebor dewyl of hel captayn of the sayd glowtons wyth company of other syndry dewyllys, qwych strenges by merweylows strangeyng, et sorowful et dreydabyl fygurys, the whych swellys the sayd saowllys et in corporys in theym the sayd serpens." Sign. v.iij. The above is not an unfavourable specimen of the book. From a copy formerly in my possession which I gave to the British museum about twenty years ago. This is one of the very rarest of English books; and I am not aware of the existence of another copy in England. There is a copy in the public library at Paris.

[18] "Pro vera pœnitentia."

faryngmen. For ty (*thy*) frende beynge seke. For thy fader and moder deed. For thy frendis deed. For all lyuing and deed.

Matines of oure lady with prime and the houres, wyth the houres of the passion of oure lorde. And of the compassion of oure lady.

Salue regina wyth the versis.

Gaude virgo mater christi.

Gaude flore virginali.

De profundis for alle cristen soules.

A prayer to our lady and seynt iohon theuangelyst.

O intemerata.

Another to thyen[19] Sancta maria regina. Stella celi.

Prayers to the sacrament atte leuacion. Aue verum corpus. And another to the trynite. Sancta trinitas unus deus. Deus qui superbis. Deus qui liberasti. Two lytil prayers, whyche kyng harry the sixth made. Domine iesu christe qui me creasti. Domine iesu christe qui solus.

Item two prayers wyth .ij. collectis to the thre kynges of coleyn. rex iaspar, &c. And trium regum trium munus.

The xv. houres of the passion of our lorde.[20]

Prayers to the pyte of our lord.

Adoro te domine iesu christe wyth indulgences. A deuoute prayer to our lord crucified and to hys fyue woundes. O pie crucifixe.

The prayer of saynt bernardyn. O bone iesu. wyth anthem and colet. O rex gloriose.

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[19] There are three prayers not noticed, before the "Sancta Maria regina." *Query* thyen?

[20] More commonly "the xv oos" or the "fifteen prayers to our blessed Lord."

To the crosse. Sanctifica me. To the propre angel. O sancte angele. Diuerse commemoracions to these saintes folowing.

Tho saint iames the more. To saynt iames the lasse.
To saynt sebastyan. To saynt cristofore.
To saynt george. To saynt martyn.
To saynt antony. To saynt francoys.
To saynt anne. To saynt barbara.
To vi. thousand virgines. To saynt apolyn.
To alle seyntes.

Two deuout prayers in english to iesu. Deuoute prayers to be said in the agonye or (*of*?) deth and also dayly. A deuote prayer to the fader. Another to the sone. And the thyrd to the holy goost.

A special prayer late shewe (*shewed*) to a monke of Vynham. Deus propicius esto, wyth a colet to sainct michel. An anteme wyth a colet to sainct gabriel.

Another to saint raphael. A deuote blessyng.

Two deuoute prayers in englissh.

The .vij. psalmes. xv. psalmes wyth the letanye and suffrages.

The .viij. versis of saint bernard.

Thre short prayers taught by our lady to seynt brigitte.

A prayer ayenst thonder and tempeste shewed by an angel to seynt edward.

Titulus triumphalis iesus.

Placebo, dirige, and commendacyon.

A deuoute prayer to the crosse.

Psalmes of the passion.

A deuoute prayer to the trinite, made by saynt gregory.

An anthem with a colet of saint hierom. Saint hieromis psaulter.

The rosare."

The above table is by no means to be considered as giving an exact description of the contents of all printed horæ. There is a very great general resemblance among them, but there are scarcely two which do not differ in the arrangement of the prayers: some again have more in number, others less: some have English prayers mixed with the Latin: some a Latin table of contents, some an English. But from the contents given of the two manuscripts and of the edition by Simon Vostre the reader will probably be able to form a very correct idea of what he may expect to find in the "Horæ beatæ Mariæ virginis secundum usum Sarum."

I do not remember any copy which can be identified as of the use of York or Hereford.

As of the horæ so also of the Prymer I have spoken in another place, the dissertation on the English prymer, and must again refer the reader there for further information. Here I shall repeat that it is an error to suppose that the prymer began to be known, as some writers have ignorantly insisted, only about the year 1525, and sprang out of the desire then prevalent for English formularies of devotion. I have proved that it was common, at any rate its name, centuries before: and have edited an English translation of the prymer or horæ, certainly as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century.

As a general rule, we may say that in the sixteenth century printed books which bear the title of prymer

contain more prayers and directions and short treatises in English than the horæ. But in other respects they agree: having between them, and between themselves, the same variations and such additions or omissions as might suit the purpose of the editor or the printer. Still these were so unimportant that they did not at all interfere with the character either of the one or of the other. Those which bore upon the title page "Prymer in English and Latin" or "Prymer in English" explain themselves. The first would contain the offices and prayers in both languages in parallel columns, the last in English only. The prymer in English only "of Salisbury use" was never printed. At least, I believe no copy is known to exist. Those which were published in the reign of king Henry the eighth are stated to have been set forth by his authority and of the clergy, for the use of and enjoined to be used by the whole realm.[21]

Take, for example, an early primer. "¶ This prymer of Salysbury vse is set out a long wout ony serchyng, with many prayers, and goodly pyctures." Paris, 1532. Such is a portion of the title: but the whole book is in Latin, so far as the offices are concerned, and corresponds with the horæ of the same date. The difference consists in more frequent translations of verses to the calendar; and some

[21] "The Prymer set forth, &c. . . . and none other to be used throughout his dominions." Edit. Whitchurch, 1545.

Besides these there were "prymers" published by the reformers, adapted to the new doctrines of the time. These were rigidly suppressed, and are now of excessive rarity. Probably of some no record remains.

short tracts, &c., as if keeping up the ancient and proper character of the original prymers.

Or again, a prymer "in Englyshe and in Laten" of the date 1538.[22] The following are "℄ The contentes of thys boke.

Fyrste an almanacke for .xx. yeres.

A calender. A preface.[23]

A prayer of the vij. wordes that our lorde spake on the crosse at his passyon.

The forre gospels of the foure euangelistes.

The passion of our Lorde. Egressus est Jesus.

The Pater noster, and the Aue maria.

The .xij. articles of the faythe.

The .x. comaundementes.

The duety of a christen man.

Auxiliatrix.

Matyns. Euynsonge. Coumplen. Salve regina. Gaude virgo. Gaude flore. Stella celi. Ave verum corpus.

The .xv. Oos.

The .vij. psalmes with the lateny.

Dyryge with the commendacyons.

The psalmes of the passion.

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22 8vo. Paris. In the Bodleian library.

23 This is, "℄ The preface and maner to lyue well, deuoutly and salutarily euery day for all persones of meane estate. Compyled by mayster Johan quentin doctour in diuinyte at Parys: translated out of frenche in tho Englysshe by Robert Copland prynter at London." It is very commonly prefixed to the horæ and prymers. At the end are often found, rather bound with them than a part of the books, having fresh signatures and pagination, "Hierom of Ferrarye' his exposicyon upon the .li. psalme," and "A meditacyon of the same Jerom upon the psalme of *In te Domine speraui*, whiche preuentyd by death he coulde not fynyshe."

Saint Hieroms psalter.

A prayer whan thou shalt receyue the sacrament.

A prayer whan thou haste receyued it.

O bone Jesu. Conditor celi et terre.

Thre prayers of Salomon: two for to obtayne wysdome, and one for a competent lyuyng."

The prymers in English and Latin are thus seen not to be so full in their contents as those in Latin only or chiefly. Some of the later prymers "after the use of Sarum" contain a number of godly prayers in English, both at the beginning and at the end: as the edition, for example, in 4to. by Kyngston and Sutton, 1557. On the other hand, "The prymer in English and Latine after Salisbury use" by John Wayland, 1558, except in the addition of the fifteen Oos, and the Passion from the four gospels, is an exact counterpart as to its contents of the earliest prymer known, viz. the manuscript edited in the present work.

The prymers "set forth by ye kinges maieste and his clergie" in 1545 in English and in Latin, and in English only, contain those portions of the previous books of the same name which had been already translated. I am not speaking of the translation itself, or of the alterations which were made in the offices by the protestant revisers.

The Orarium of 1546 has generally been supposed to be a book similar to the orarium of 1560, of queen Elizabeth, which is so well known through the reference made to it by bishop Cosin in the title-page of his "Private devotions" or "Hours of prayer." Or again, that it was much the same as the "Preces privatæ" published "regia authoritate" in 1564 and 1573. But this is a mistake:

and I have no doubt has arisen from the extraordinary rarity of the original book; no copy of which is in the British museum [1846][24] and only an imperfect one in the Bodleian. The orarium of 1546 is the Latin part of the prymer set forth by king Henry the eighth. It is the volume which archbishop Cranmer enquired about in the 68th of his visitation articles, 1548: "Whether they that understand Latin do use any other than the Latin prymer, set forth by the king's majesty's authority."

Thus we have the king's prymer in three states; in Latin and English, in English, and in Latin: not knowing what Latin name to give it and disliking "Horæ" the editors called it orarium, not horarium. The full title is: "Orarium seu libellus precationum per regiam maiestatem et clerum latine æditus. 1546." 12mo. At the beginning is the Latin preface which Mr. Jenkyns and after him Dr. Burton could not find although they searched; that is, if they made a search.[25]

They who chose Orarium for the title of this volume if they wished for a new word, which by the way it was not, probably did not remember that it had been no less than horæ applied to the corresponding book of the church of Salisbury. It is in the colophon to an enchiridion, "impressum est hoc orarium," &c., i.e. the horæ or "enchiridion præclare ecclesie Sarum,"[26] 8vo. 1530. The term

[24] The museum now possesses a copy, which in 1846 was mine. If I remember rightly, it came from the library of the late Dr. Nott.

[25] See more upon this in the dissertation on the prymer in English.

[26] A copy of this book on vellum, wanting the title, is in St. John's college library, Oxford.

had been already used in the breviary of the church of Spires. The edition of that book in 1507, 8vo., of which there is a copy in the library of the university of Cambridge, has the title "Orarium Spireñ."

For the Enchiridion is nothing more than another title of the horæ. The contents and the arrangement are exactly similar. It may have been used in foreign churches to signify the manual, which at first sight or hearing of the name one would be inclined to suppose: but whether this be so or not there is no example of it in the English manuals. I know but two editions of the horæ, entitled enchiridion: of 1530, 8vo. by Hardouyn; and by Kerver, 12mo. 1528.[27]

There were few books in the fifteenth century better known or probably more used than the Festival, or Liber festivalis. Copies exist in manuscript, and it was printed by Caxton, Pynson, and Wynkyn de Worde. But it suffered even more than many other religious books from wanton destruction; and is now of extreme rarity. The contents were sermons to be read in churches on sundays and holidays by priests who were not well able to preach. A short prologue explains that the book had been prepared by a priest for other parish priests, "hauen charge of soules and holden to teche theyr paryshens of all ye pryncypall festes that come in the yere." Each sermon begins with a short form, usually in these words: "Good men and wymen, this daye is called the fyrste sonday in advent;" or, "Good men and wymmen, such a

[27] Both these are in my possession [1846].

daye ye shall haue saynt Andrewes daye, and ye shall fast the euen," &c. All people were bound to be at their parish church on sundays, so the form was "is;" and on the sunday also the feasts which would fall during the week were announced, under the form "shall be" or "ye shall have."

For each day a short sermon came first; explaining the history of the saint, or special occasion of the day, or the gospel at mass, and the lessons which the people ought to learn, and their duty in consequence. Then followed a "narratio" or little story; illustrating the particular subject.[28] It must be owned that some of these tales or narrations are of a character which would seem somewhat childish—to say the least of it—if read in churches in modern times. They were not all intended, however, to be believed as histories of true facts; but to be listened to merely as suggestions towards a better life, or warnings against those who might be careless or impenitent.

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[28] For example, this; for the second sunday in Lent:—

"Narracio.

"There was a woman that had done an horryble synne, and wolde fayne haue be shryuen therof, and durste not. Thenne come our lorde to her bodely and sayd, my doughter why shryuest ȝu not of thy syne? Lord, I may not for shame. Thenne sayd our lorde, Take I thy honde: and put her honde in to his syde euen to his herte and sayd, Woman what felest thou? And she quaked for fere and sayd, Lorde I fele thyn herte. Thenne sayd our lorde, be thou no more ashamed to shewe me thy herte than I to lete the fele myn. Thenne this woman rose and with lyght sawe her honde all blody and wolde haue wasshe it of, but it wolde not tyll on the morowe that she was shryuen; and thene was her honde clene as it was before, and she was clene of al her synnes, and thus she was made clene bothe of body and soule."

CHAPTER X.

I AM very far from asserting that the above list of the old service books and rituals of the Church of England is complete: but I trust that at least all those of usual occurrence have been noticed, and those only omitted whose titles and contents either cannot admit of doubt, or which there is no reason to believe were used by the English Church. It must moreover be remembered, that in the old times there were almost as many books as there were parts of the offices and service: and not only the collects and verses and graduals, &c. were divided and subdivided into separate volumes, but the offices of great festivals and certain portions of the year were also arranged for the purposes of greater solemnity or to be ready at hand, as I have before remarked and the reader cannot but have observed.

Such then they were, and at least so many in number: and of each not only must there have been almost countless copies in manuscript in the year 1530, but there had been many large editions of several of them printed.[29] Yet now, in about three hundred years, we may say of them that as a class they have all but totally disappeared. Examples of any one, missal or breviary or manual it matters

[29] The Exeter MS. inventory of 1506 proves how early the printed editions were adopted in churches. Belonging to the chapel of the holy Cross was "j. missale de papiro artis impressorie." And to the chapel of St. Edmund in the same cathedral "j. missale impressorie artis in pergameno."

not, are of extraordinary rarity: of some none are extant: and by far the greater part of those which we do possess are mutilated and imperfect.

It is not to be denied that service books are, more perhaps than any others, subject to destruction: at least, if we judge from the care taken of them in parish churches commonly now-a-days. They are suffered to lie about in damp places: when superseded they are left among old boards or boxes in vestries, and become the gradual prey of rats and vermin: sometimes they are at once thrown away, or serve to light the stove and the gas-lamps of the church. Modern common Prayer books for church use are printed moreover upon a most vile paper; and the wonder really may rather be, how with any amount of care they can withstand at all the thumbing of parish-clerks. But of these causes two at least were wanting in earlier ages; care was taken of the books, and the material was enduring.

As a proof of how great the care was which was taken anciently of the church service books, we may refer to two statutes drawn up by the founder of the college of St. Mary Ottery: "30. Inhibemus etiam districte sub pœna excommunicationis, ne quis præsumat aut, ut quandoque vidimus in ecclesiis ruralibus, de foliis librorum ex quacunque eorum parte aliquid abscindere vel superscribere ad librorum deformitatem aut mutilationem, nec etiam sub colore correctionis aliquid in litera vel nomine immutare, nisi forte aliquis peritus et sciolus ad hoc assignatus novos libros corrigat ad exemplar aliquod originale, quod juxta judicium seniorum exemplar fidelius reputatur. Omnes etiam ecclesiæ ministri sæpius

moneantur libros ecclesiæ honeste vertere, tenere, et servare. . . . 34. Item ut honestius libri custodiantur, statuimus et mandamus quod clerici tenendo libros, quantum possunt, manicas superpellicei inter librum et manum interponant et folia vertendo non cum digitis sputo tinctis, ut sutores, nec plicando quasi per aures caperent, sed cum digitis incipiendo in superiori parte descendendo vertant, et stringendo libros aperiant non firmacula subito evellendo."[30]

Not only was such the care taken of them[31] but

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[30] Oliver, *Monasticon Exon.* p. 270. The same statutes contain a further order, which I cannot resist extracting: "31. Item statuimus quod antiphonaria omnia et gradualia et psalteria ita semper sint correcta quod non discordent in aliquo, et quod ita dividantur quod una medietas eorum ponatur a dextera chori et alia medietas a sinistra. Ita quod semper ad minus sint tria antiphonaria et tot psalteria cum tot gradualibus ex uno latere, et tot ex alio latere, et liber unus ad gradum semper chori vel in medio, alius coram rectoribus ad missam; et inhibemus ne aliquis ex quacunque causa asportet vel amoveat vel transmutet tales libros de locis suis quibus specialiter assignabuntur, ac etiam ascribentur, quia ex hoc posset officium impediri; verum volumus quod armarioli fortes fiant in stallis secundariorum per quatuor partes chori ad reponendum tales libros, et quod claves tradantur clericis ecclesiæ qui eos quotidie extrahant et reponant. 32. Item, quotiens aliquis novus liber portatur in chorum, nullus canonicus nec alius utatur eo, quousque corrigatur."

[31] Nothing is more common than to find in mediæval manuscripts warnings of various kinds and anathemas against stealers of books. The famous Leofric manuscript is a good example. At the beginning of it is this denunciation; repeated in Anglo-saxon, so that there should be no want of knowledge: "Hunc missalem Leofricus episcopus dat ecclesiæ sancti Petri apostoli in Exonia, ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Si quis inde abstulerit, æternæ subjaceat maledictioni. Fiat, Fiat. Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis." But, as canon Stubbs remarks, "the manuscript is nevertheless now in the Bodleian library." *Councils*, vol. I. p. 693.

And we may take some later

the service books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were almost always, if manuscript, upon vellum; and in later years, if printed and on paper, the material was strong and stout enough to last a reasonable time. Again: when the ritual and liturgy of the English Church were altered the change was sudden. The old books were not to be used until worn out and then to be supplied by the new offices; but on a certain day named they were to be given up entirely and for ever. It is not to be supposed but that two-thirds at least of those then in use were perfect and sound; and of

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entries, from a library no less guilty and no less impenitent than the Bodleian; the British museum:—

"If ony persone stele y^s^ boke
he shal be hongyd by a hoke."

MS. Harleian 45;
at the end.

Again:—

"This boke y^s^ one and chryst curse is another,
He that take ye one take ye oyer."

MS. Additional 30,506.

A large folio, Latin theological treatises, given about 1450 to St. Alban's abbey, has "Quicunque hunc librum a prædicta ecclesia fraudulenter abstulerit indignationem omnipotentis Dei, sanctissimæ Mariæ, et beatissimi Albani, Anglorum protomartyris, se noverit incursurum." MS. Reg. 2 F. vij. Another, which belonged to the same abbey, has the more usual form: "Hunc librum &c. . . . quem qui alienaverit vel titulum deleverit, anathema sit. Amen." 2 F. viij. The Harleian manuscript, 2336, has a long and curious note: that having been written at the expense of one John Gamalin it is to be kept for life by the then possessor; then to be handed on, for life also, to another; and so on, each in turn to pray for the soul of John Gamalin.

I shall quote but one more; a very mild and proper form, rhyming although written in prose, from a very pretty book of Hours which once belonged to a countess of Worcester: "Thys boke ys myne, Eleanor worcestar. And [an] yt ys loste and yow yt fynd, I pray yow hartely to be so kynd, that yow wol take a letle payne, to se my boke brothe home agayne." Harleian MS. 1251.

the remaining third there could not have been a large proportion whose time of service would happen to have nearly expired, and which might be, not thrown upon a dunghill but, rightly and reverently destroyed.[32]

Once more: consider the amazing number of the books. Not only every one of the ten thousand parishes of England was fully furnished, but in single parishes there were often more churches than one, and in single churches there were chantries and chapels, also supplied.[33] Add to these, the monasteries and cathedrals with their hundreds (it may be said) of service books;[34] the private chapels

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[32] The question is frequently asked, what should be done with church vestments, &c. which have become useless from age or injury? The canon law tells us: "altaris palla, cathedra, candelabrum, et velum, si fuerint vetustate consumpta, incendio dentur; quia non licet ea, quæ in sacrario fuerint, male tractari; sed incendio universa tradantur. Cineres quoque eorum in baptisterium inferantur, ubi nullus transitum habeat; aut in pariete, aut in fossis pavimentorum jactentur, ne introeuntium pedibus inquinentur." *Corpus juris can.* vol. 1. p. 460.

So Alberti says: when sacred vestments and ornaments of the church are worn out, they are to be burned, and their ashes to be disposed "in ecclesiæ loco ubi incedentium pedibus calcari nequeunt." *De sacris utensilibus,* p. 176; see also cap. xi. 51–57. p. 174.

And, once more, Lyndwood: "Pallæ altaris, et ea, quæ in sacrario sunt vetustate corrupta, incendi debent. Et ratio est, quia talia male tractari non debent, nec ad usus prophanos converti." Lib. 1. tit. 6, Cum sacri, *verb.* concremandum.

[33] The parish church of St. John the baptist, Glastonbury, in the year 1421, had in use "iij missals, iij graduals, j psalter, iij antiphonals, j legend, ij collections, j processional." Collections I conclude were the same as the "colet-boke" mentioned before. Warner, *hist. of Glast.* appendix, xcix.

[34] Take, for example, the sum of some of the church-books which belonged to Ramsay abbey, from the inventory before cited. (Cotton rolls, xi. 16.)

of the nobility; the copies in the possession of the laity: and will it be beyond the mark to conclude that at the date above mentioned there were not less than two hundred and fifty thousand volumes in actual use, besides those which might have been laid up and treasured in the archives?[35]

There are entered at the end, breviaries, "lxx." psalters, "centum," hymnals, "iiij," graduals, "xxxij," processionals, "xxix." In 1480 a single chantry chapel in Salisbury cathedral possessed seven service books for its separate use. Dugdale, *Baronage*, p. 209. An inventory is extant of the church goods of the parishes in Norwich in 1368. One church possessed eighteen, and another thirty-two service books.

[35] In speaking just above of ten thousand parishes in England, and in calculating the number of service books at 250,000, I must undeniably be within the actual number. Sir Robert Atkyns in his *Gloucestershire* speaks of "45,000 churches and 55,000 chapels which existed before the reformation." As there may be doubt as to whether he includes abbey churches let us hear some contemporary authorities. The anonymous author of the famous libel "A supplicacyon for the beggers" says, "Here if it please your grace to marke . . . . there are withyn youre realme of Englond, lii. thousand parisshe churches." I quote from the only known copy of the original edition of 1524, in my possession [1846].* It is true that Sir Thomas More in his answer, called "The supplycacyon of soules," denies the fact, saying "it is a playne lye to beginne with." *Works*, p. 293. Nor must we forget that the author of the libel makes his statement the foundation of an extraordinary calculation of the amount of money paid by the householders of England to the begging friars: which calculation of course would be much influenced by an additional five or ten thousand at the commencement. Nevertheless there is other evidence that the statement of Sir R. Atkyns, putting the number at 45,000, was not in some sense incorrect. For example, in the British museum are some memoranda entered at the end of a manuscript of the fifteenth century, in a contemporary hand: "Sunt in regno Anglie

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* Now in the British museum.

There is no difficulty however in accounting for the loss of them. The same spirit which prompted the reformers to drive religious men into the world who had forsaken it as they had hoped for ever, by dismantling their houses and tearing the roofs off over their heads, and by "pulling down the rooks' nests" as one advised who in after years died disgracefully upon the scaffold,—the same spirit suggested a sure plan to prevent men worshipping any longer after the manner of their forefathers. This was to destroy the books in which that ancient way of worship was contained. The storm of alteration then sweeping over the land from one end of England to the other, with daily increasing violence; which would have spared, had God not checked it, but little of former belief and practice; which overwhelmed tower and church and cloister in one common ruin, was successful in this stroke which it aimed.

Utterly setting aside the question, according to the different opinions of different people, of the excellence of the reformed service books as compared with the old, we may certainly assert that for the first time in the history of the Christian

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ecclesie parochiales 46100. Sunt in eodem regno villate," &c. Bibl. reg. MS. 8. B. xv. Other manuscripts in the same collection have at the end some similar entries: among them, "Sunt in Anglia ecclesie parochiales 45011." Bibl. reg. MS. 8. D. iv. Again, Titus D. 3, "There ben in Inglond forty-five thousand and eleven paryshe churches;" fol. 89 *b*. Upon the whole question there seems little doubt that this large number must of necessity include monastic churches of all kinds, as well as chantries and other chapels in large churches; very many of which were supplied with their own books for service. Including these the estimate is perhaps sufficiently accurate.

Church, in order to make way for a new ritual and order of public worship, it was thought necessary to obliterate if possible by the strong arm of power, and against the will of the majority of the clergy and the people, all traces of a preceding ritual, Christian also and Catholic, which for a thousand years had been the object of their reverence and love. This was indeed looking upon it after the fashion of those who, in the days of the apostles, burnt the books of magic and of "curious arts;" a view not unlikely to be taken by men who, as some high in authority did not hesitate to declare, looked upon the *panis benedictus* as "conjured bread."

It will not be improper to add here a few of the records and particulars of this event. In 1534 a proclamation was issued "giving warning, monition, and charge to all manner of ecclesiastical persons within every diocess—to cause all manner prayers, orasions, rubricks, canons of mass-books, and all other books in the churches, wherein the bishop of Rome is named," to be cleared from his name and title, and that they should be utterly eradicated and rased out.[36]

In the year 1535 the archbishop of York writes to the king: "Opon good Fridaye last past, I charged the treasorer of Yorke, that he sholde leave ouȝt the colett *pro papa*, lykewies I charged the deacon that songe the hymne *Exultet angelica* in the halowinge of the paschall, that he sholde leave ouȝt mention therein made *de papa*."[37]

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[36] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 773.
[37] Ellis, *Orig. letters*, 3rd series, 2. 329.

I may remark in this place that in the year 1555 an order was published by cardinal Pole that all these rased names should be restored: "Id etiam curent, ut sacrorum canonum instituta in omnibus observentur, et nomen divi Thomæ martyris, necnon sanctissimi domini nostri papæ ex libris dispunctum, in illis restituatur, et pro eo secundum morem ecclesiæ, ut ante schisma fiebat, oretur."[38]

Considering what was taking place, we can scarcely think it strange that within about four years after St. Thomas of Canterbury should have been especially obnoxious. It was not enough that the murdered archbishop should have been ridiculously cited and condemned at Westminster, a fact which has been denied;[39] or that his shrine should be robbed of its rich jewels, which were a sufficient object alone to excite the cupidity of the king's advisers; but it was further ordered by "the king's grace," charged and commanded, that "from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed and reputed a saint,—and that henceforth the day used to be festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the service, office, antiphons, collects and prayers in his name read, but rased and put

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[38] Wilkins, tom. 4. p. 139.

[39] See a note in *Cranmer's remains*, vol. 1. p. 262. But a confutation which against many dates (viz. of the citation, the sentence, and the execution) rests upon one date does not seem worth much. I think against the fact the strong point is that king Henry's advisers did not commonly trouble themselves with any such egregious follies before they proceeded to plunder: for it, an expression in the king's injunction cited in the text, "Forasmuch as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket, &c." Archbishop Parker, a contemporary, seems to have believed it; *De ant. ecc.* p. 209.

out of all the books."[40] We find in copies of service books which have come down to us frequent mutilations, the consequence of this injunction: the office erased or blotted with inquisition ink (as it was called, impossible to be removed and making the print illegible), or cut out altogether. Sometimes sentences were merely crossed through with a pen.[41]

Two or three years afterwards further steps were taken: the convocation of 1542 was quietly told "regiam majestatem velle" that the king would have "all mass books, antiphoners, portuisses in the church of England newly examined, reformed, and castigated from all manner of mention of the bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitious orations, collects, versicles, and responses: that the names and memories of all saints which be not mentioned in scripture, or authentical doctors, should be abolished and put out of the same books and calendars: and that the services should be made out of the Scriptures," &c.[42]

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[40] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 848. Mr. Todd, in his life of Cranmer, states that the archbishop had already treated the memory of Becket with disrespect, at the time of his festival. He gives no authority.

[41] The name, if not some office, of St. Thomas of Canterbury occurs so often in service books, that scarcely one could escape this order. The collect in the horæ for his day is this: "Deus pro cujus ecclesia gloriosus martyr et pontifex Thomas gladiis impiorum occubuit, quæsumus ut omnes qui ejus implorant auxilium, piæ petitionis suæ salutarem consequantur effectum. Per Christum." Preceded by an antiphon, verse, and response: ending with a Pater noster and Ave Maria.

[42] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 863. I presume it was to meet this statute and so prevent further mutilation that books were printed without the obnoxious passages. Such as was the "Portiforium secundum usum Sarum noviter impressum, et a plurimis purgatum mendis. In

The wonder is that any further order should have been necessary after this, which was sufficiently wide in its directions to admit the violence of every one who would assert this or that to be apocryphal, or a feigned legend, or a superstitious collect. But it seems that the people would not yet be driven, let the hint be ever so palpable: and to this expression of the "royal pleasure" we can trace little more than further irreverent mutilation, and tearing out of leaves. That its object was not forgotten is clear from one of the visitation articles of the diocese of Canterbury in 1548: "Item, whether they have put out of their church books this word, *papa*, and the name and service of Thomas Becket, and prayers having rubrics containing pardons and indulgences,[43] and all other superstitious legends and prayers."

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quo nomen Romano pontifici falso ascriptum omittitur, una cum aliis quæ christianissimo nostri regis statuto repugnat," London, 12mo., 1544, 2 vols.

[43] Hence we find some copies which have these especially erased or torn out. Such mutilations were not frequent, and were confined almost entirely to the horæ.

The royal order seems to have been held by persons of "the new learning" to apply to other books besides service books: for example, we find on the cover of a copy of Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *Fall of princes*, in the Bodleian, these lines:—

"Who redith in this booke discretly,
Fyndyng the pope in ony place,
Put hym out I besych yow hertely,
For I refuse hym and all his trace,
Submyttyng my sylff to our kyngs grace,
Who is owr hede and most noble governowr,
Whom God preserve every tym and howr."

MS. Rawlinson, C. 448.

So also two pages of the great Vernon manuscript, containing a metrical life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, have been crossed with a pen: but very lightly crossed, just enough to satisfy

In the year 1549 a proclamation was issued which, backed by the royal power, could scarcely be evaded. Premising that a book of common Prayer had been agreed upon and commanded to be used of all persons within the realm, but that "dyvers unquyette and evill disposed persons had noysed and bruted abrode, that they sholde have agayne theire olde Lattene service," it goes on to order and "straightly to commaunde and charge you, that immediately upon the receipt herof, you do commaunde the deane and prebendaries of the cathedrall churche, the parsonne, vicar or curate and churche wardens of euerie parishe, within youre diocesse, to bringe and delyver unto youe or youre deputie—all antiphoners, missales, grayles, processionalles, manuelles, legendes, pies, portasses, jornalles, and ordinalles, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use, and all other bokes of service, the keping wherof shold be a let to the usage of the said boke of commenne prayers, and that you take the same bokes into your handes—and then (*them* ?) so deface and abolishe that they never after may serve eyther to anie soche use, as they were provided for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniforme ordre," &c.[44]

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the order; so lightly indeed, that one could almost fancy the temper of the mind which guided the unwilling pen might still be recognised.

[44] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 4. p. 37. The completeness with which the destruction of service books was at once carried out is shown by the circumstance that in the inventories of church goods books are of very rare occurrence, even so early as the year 1553. There are plenty of chalices, patens, vestments and other ornaments still left; but scarcely the books in any parish. See for example the inventories (lately published) of the Berkshire parishes made for the royal

Immediately succeeding this came the act 3rd and 4th Edward the sixth, cap. x, repeating the above with an addition or two, such as that all such books "used heretofore for the service of the church, . . shalbe clearlie and utterlie abolished, extinguished, and forbidden for euer to bee vsed, or kepte in this realme." The books so delivered were ordered to be openly burnt or otherwise destroyed: and if any mayor, bishop, &c. or other commissary neglected to do so he was to forfeit "fourtie poundes." The last clause of this act excepted one book, the prymer of king Henry the eighth, which might be returned to the owners "so that the sentences of invocation or praier to sainctes be blotted or clearlie put out of the same." In this state, so blotted, is almost every copy which remains of those prymers.

Queen Mary, on her accession, called in and so far as she was able completed the destruction of all copies of the old books, which according to the edicts of previous reigns had been mutilated, erased, and injured.[45] This unquestionably sprang from a desire to prevent the use of defaced and imperfect copies in parish churches, for by the same enactment all parishes were required to furnish themselves with new complete books, as the service stood in the last year of the reign of king Henry the eighth.

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commissioners in 1552. The same may be said of other counties: and when books are named, they are generally Bibles or the paraphrase of Erasmus: as, again for instance, in the parish of Cheshunt in Hertfordshire: "Item, a great Byble in Inglishe. Item, a paraffrases in Inglishe. Item, ij psalter bookes in Inglish. Item, a booke of commen Prayer."

[45] Burn, *Eccles. law*, art. *Public worship;* Gibson, *Codex*, tit. xi. cap. 1.

But the effect was that we must attribute to this cause, in its degree, a further and not inconsiderable loss of those volumes which, although injured, had yet been spared.

Fast, however, as probably the press worked to supply the wants of so many thousand parishes, in which the ancient forms and offices were to be restored, it was for a time only and a short time: within five years Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, and the reformed Prayer book was established as the ritual of the national Church, and has so continued down to our own days.

Neither is there much difficulty in accounting for the loss of the reprints of queen Mary's reign: no energy and activity in the four or five years during which it lasted could have supplied a tenth part of the books which had been destroyed: and the reprints have in like manner perished, and from the same causes. Commissions of enquiry were issued soon after Elizabeth's plan of government had been decided on, or her way clear before her; and orders made to deliver up all such superstitious books that they might be destroyed. To cite no more instances, take three from the *Collectanea curiosa*.[46] One, directed to All Souls' college, with a schedule of mass books, grailes, and antiphons in their possession. Another, of which Humfrey president of Magdalen was a chief and we may suppose how active an agent, aimed at the few copies which had been retained: "missals, books, crosses, and such other idolatrous and superstitious monuments." And a third, to the same effect: "Another order from the same."

[46] Vol. 2. nos. xxij, xxv, xxvj.

No more seems necessary to be cited by way of adding to these royal and parliamentary edicts. Yet one, forty years later, must not be omitted. This is the act, 3rd James the first, cap. 5. It is sufficient to mention it merely, and that it recites several books named in the statute above, 3rd & 4th Edward the sixth, with the addition of some three or four later publications; rosaries, lady-psalters, and catechisms, which are no part of my subject. All "to be burned."

I am bound to say that having been begun by the one party the practice of destroying service books was not neglected by the other. An order was issued by queen Mary's council soon after her accession against "certain heretical books," among which particularly were "the schismatical communion book" and "the English ordinal."[47] These were to be destroyed and burnt throughout the realm. Strype, by the way, in quoting this quietly confounds *suspect* translations of the old and new testament with the holy Bible, as if that was ordered to be burnt.[48]

There can be no doubt whatever that all these orders were not only issued but acted on, and zealously obeyed. When men spared not sacred and solemn buildings,[49] and altars dedicated to the most

[47] The lower house of convocation had already petitioned the bishops to call in and destroy all heretical books. *Concil.* tom. 4. p. 96.

[48] *Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 348.

[49] Willis, in his *Mitred abbies*, gives the following account sent to Cromwell of the destruction of the magnificent church of Lewes in Sussex, taken from a book in the Cottonian library:—

"Sussex, March 24, 1538.

"My Lord, I humbly commend to your lordship. The last I wrote to your lordship was the 20th day of this present month,

high God, and the bodies of the dead,[50] it is not to be supposed (though we had no evidence) that

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by the hands of Mr. Williamson: by the which I advertised your lordship of the length and greatness of this church, and sale: we had begun to pull the whole down to the ground, and what manner and fashion they used in pulling it down. I told your lordship of a vault on the right side of the high altar that was borne with four pillars, having about it five chapels. All this is down, Thursday and Friday last. Now we are plucking down an higher vault, borne up by four thick and gross pillars. This shall down for our second work. We brought from London seventeen persons, 3 carpenters, 2 smiths, 2 plummers, and one that keepeth the furnace: every one of these attendeth to his own office: ten of them heweth the walls about, among the which are the three carpenters. These made props to underset where the other cut away. The other break and cut the walls. These are men exercised much better than other men that we find here in the country. [May we not hope that the country people refused to be partakers of their sin?] Wherefore we must both have more men and other things also that we have need of. By month a Tuesday, they begun to cast the lead, and it shall be done with such diligence and saving as may be. So that our trust is, that your lordship shall be much satisfied with what we do. Your lordship's servant, John Portmarus." Vol. ii. appendix, p. 26.

The pious brethren of the monasteries in those unhappy times must have remembered, and sorrowfully repeated in the ears of the most High, the prophetic words, "Thine adversaries roar in the midst of thy congregations: and set up their banners for tokens. He that hewed timber afore out of the thick trees: was known to bring it to an excellent work. But now they break down all the carved work thereof: with axes and hammers. They have set fire upon Thy holy places: and have defiled the dwelling-place of Thy Name, even unto the ground. Yea, they said in their hearts, Let us make havoc of them altogether. O God, how long shall the adversary do this dishonour: how long shall the enemy blaspheme Thy Name?"

I cannot help adding from an author not much inclined to sympathise with any but Roman and druidical antiquity, and who speaks of himself moreover as "no encourager of superstitious foppery," the following passage.

books should have been more fortunate. But we have ample proof. I wish much that I had space

He is writing of the abbey of Glastonbury about the year 1720: "Within a *lustrum* of years, a presbyterian tenant has made more barbarous havoc there than has been since the dissolution, for every week a pillar, a buttress, a window, or an angle of fine hewn stone is sold to the best bidder. Whilst I was there they were excoriating St. Joseph's chappell for that purpose, and the squared stones were lay'd up in lots in the abbot's kitchen, the rest goes to paving yards and stalls for cattle, or to the highway. *I observed frequent instances of the townsmen being generally afraid to make such purchase, as thinking an unlucky fate attends the family where these materials are used, and they told me many stories and particular instances of it. Others that are but half religious will venture to build stables and outhouses with it, but by no means any part of the dwelling house.*" In the next page we are told "that the towns-people bought the stone of the vaults underneath the great hall to build a sorry mercat house: *what they durst not have done singly, they perpetrated as a body, hoping vengeance would slip between so many.*" Stukeley, *Itinerarium cur. Iter.* vj. But the word of God says that He regards numbers no more than persons, and "though hand join in hand, yet the wicked shall not go unpunished."

That law of Christianity which is understood to have forbidden the appropriation to secular purposes of goods and lands once given to God and employed in His service, was utterly forgotten in the sixteenth century. The enlightened fanatics who pulled down churches and chapels, and built houses with the materials for themselves to lodge in, might have learnt many a profitable lesson from the canons of earlier ages, up to the introduction of the Faith among their Saxon forefathers. Compare Thorpe, *Ancient laws and institutes*, vol. 2. pp. 56, 235, 341, and in later years, Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. pp. 576, 636, &c.

Selden has written on the subject; to quote one place only: "I affirm" (he says) "nothing here; it is no place for me to do it: but let these things be first considerable to every one that talks of appropriations and concludes tithes due *jure divino morali*. And, for laymen's rights to the appropriated tithes, let him examine it rather thus: may that which either grant or prescription, or other civil title once settled and so even consecrated

to give more than the following one or two examples. Thus, a letter of Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury,

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to God and holy uses, although abused, be afterward prophaned to lay hands? . . . Is the consecration of appropriated tithes nothing? . . . The many execrations annext to the deeds of conveyance of them, and poured forth against such as should divert them to profane uses, should be also thought on; and let them remember also, who saies, that *it is a destruction for a man to devoure what is consecrated.*" *Historie of tithes*, p. 471.

Sir William Dugdale has also recorded his opinion or, as it was a tender point, his doubts: "As for the curses which were usually pronounc't by the founders of these religious houses, whether they have attended those violaters of what they so zealously and with devout minds had dedicated to God's service, I will not take upon me to say: but sure I am, that after K. H. 8. had accomplished this work he thrived but a little. And how long such possessions were enjoyed by those who had them, they that have look't into the course of this world may easily see." *Hist. Warw.* p. 148.

Not so hesitatingly however speaks the editor of the *Monasticon diœcesis Exoniensis.* He gives a remarkable letter "artful and menacing, of that fit instrument of royal tyranny, John Lord Russel" (p. 77), and adds: "In too many instances of this period we are reminded of the language of the nobles and princes in the 82nd psalm, 'Who said, Let us take to ourselves the houses of God in possession;' and of the conduct of Ahab to Naboth. Well might Heylin observe, that the king was 'neither the richer in children by so many wives, nor much improved in revenue by such horrible rapines.'"

I need not refer the reader to Spelman's *History of sacrilege*, of which a new and careful edition was published a few years ago, and shall make only one more extract from the sermons of a great preacher: "There is nothing that the united voice of all history proclaims so loud, as the certain unfailing curse that has pursued and overtaken sacrilege. Make a catalogue of all the prosperous sacrilegious persons that have been from the beginning of the world to this day, and I believe they will come within a very narrow compass, and be repeated much sooner than the alphabet." South, *Sermon on places for divine worship.* Compare also White Kennett, *Hist. of impropriations*, pp. 146, 438: and the account of prior Spaldyng, in 1274, who restored ill-gotten lands, "dicens, de male acquisitis non gaudebit tertius

referring his proceedings in spiritual matters to the approbation of Cromwell, a layman :[51] "My singular

hæres." *Chron. Hen. de Boston.* p. 119.

Many writers, especially in late years when a more just spirit of enquiry has been exercised into facts, have proved the falsehood of the accusations which were made against the inmates of the English monasteries. I allude to them, for the purpose of directing the reader's attention to a collection of "Letters relating to the suppression" published by the London Camden society. The editor on the one hand has declared his belief in all the charges brought against the monks (see preface, p. 1), and on the other, furnished the clearest evidence of the knavery and abominable lying which were practised by the king's commissioners, in order to force surrenders. See Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 3. vol. 3. pp. 31 and 37.

This is already too long a note, but I must add the contrast which was displayed by Henry the fifth. In his time it was proposed by the speaker of the house of commons to seize the revenues of the Church, but the king refused, and declared that he would "leave the Church in a better condition than he found it." Collier, vol. 1. p. 620. Compare also the vow made by Charles the first in 1646, as given by Nelson in his *Address to persons of quality*, append. p. 24. Again, when the alien priories were suppressed they were granted, not to greedy courtiers but, "to other monasteries and colleges of learned men." Once more: who would have supposed that in the year 1539 such iniquities would have been not merely witnessed but advised by men who only fifteen years before, whether truly or falsely, had brought this charge amongst others against cardinal Wolsey? "19. Also, that the said lord cardinal hath not only by his untrue suggestion, shamefully slandered many good religious houses, and good virtuous men dwelling in them, but also suppressed by reason thereof, above thirty houses of religion . . . and thereupon hath caused to be found by verdict untruly, that the religious persons so suppressed had voluntarily forsaken their said houses, which was untrue, and so hath caused open perjury to be committed, to the high displeasure of Almighty God." Collier, vol. 2. p. 40.

[50] See the horrible account which is preserved in the old book of the *Rites of Durham Church*, p. 86: how the body of St. Cuthbert was treated by the notorious

good Lord, ... about a twelve months past, I lodged at my house in Croydon: where certain of my chaplains by chance went into the church there, and as they looked in certain books they found the names of bishops of Rome not put out according unto the king's commandment; wherefore I sent for all the priests of the church, and their books also, . . and commanded them that they should amend their said books, and I discharged the parish priest of his service at the same time." The letter goes on to say, that Cranmer for the same offence put a chantry priest in bail to appear before the council: and it proves most clearly the difficulty which was met with in enforcing the king's commands.

Again, a long list of articles against one Mr. Don of Jesus college, Cambridge, chiefly runs upon the

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doctor Ley and doctor Henley, the royal commissioners or visitors "in the time of king Henrie 8." This case does not enter into the question of genuine or pretended, of valuable or worthless relics, nor need we stop to enquire whether they were either one or the other: but it was, like many such perpetrated at the same time, a mere brutal mangling of the dead; with the detestable purpose moreover of offering insult to certainly religious feelings and prejudices, and of blazoning forth infidelity to the world.

We have another very illustrative example in the same book of the irreverence shown by some of the extreme puritans at the time of the reformation: "Dean Whittingham did cause to be pulled downe and dyd breake and deface all such stones [tombstones in the cathedral] as had any imagerie worke or challices wrought upon them." See below, p. 134. note 39. "And the residewe he caried them all awaie, and did make a washyng howse of many of them, for women landerers to washe in." "Two holie-water stones were taken awaie by deane Whittingham, and caryed into his kitching, and put unto profayne uses: in which stones thei dyd stepe their beefe and salt fysh in," &c. p. 52.

[51] *Cranmer's remains*, vol. 1. p. 247.

same matter, that he would not deface the service books.[52] John Baker writes to Cromwell, that he had put the parson of Dimchurch in gaol, because he "had not expelled the name of the bishop of Rome out of dyverse and sundrie bookes in his keping."[53]

Again, a most remarkable letter and blasphemous, written by a monk of the monastery of Pershore, desiring to be dismissed, to Cromwell "second person yn thys rem of Englond." I say blasphemous, containing such a passage as this to a man like Cromwell, or to any man: "Most gracyus lord and most worthyst vycytar that ever cam a moncks us, macke me your servant, handemaid, and beydman, and save my sowlle wych sholdbe lost yf ye helpe yt not, the wych you may save with one word speckyng, and mayk me, wych am now nawtt, to cum unto grace and goodnes." But this worthy member of that house goes on to instruct the second person of the realm "how the kyng's grace commandyment ys keyp yn puttyng forth of bocks the beyschatt of roms vserpt powor,"—which is, "abbots, moncks, prests don lyttyl or nothing to put owtt of bocks the beyschatt of romes name for y my selfe do know in dyu'rs bocks wher ys name and hys vserpt powor upon vs ys."[54]

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[52] *Cranmer's remains*, vol. 1. p. 269.

[53] *Orig. letters*, ser. 3. vol. 3. p. 108.

[54] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 2. p. 424. This was the sort of person upon whose evidence the commissioners relied: and as they could not always procure even this, they were forced to be content with the assurance of their visitor, "the poor priest, Richard Layton," that "the brethren be so streight kept, they cannot offend, but fain they would, if they might, as they confess." Even the author of the *History of Glastonbury* (from

Once more; the testimony of an eye-witness to the completeness of the destruction when at last it could be escaped no longer. "If there had bene" (says John Bale) "in every shyre but one solemyne lybrary, to the preseruacyon of those noble workes, it had bene yet sumwhat. But to destroy all without consydyracyon, is and wyll be vnto Englande for euer a moste horryble infamy amonge the graue senyours of other nacyons. A greate nombre of them whych purchased those superstycyouse mansyons, reserued of those bokes, some to serue theyr iakes, some to scoure theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope sellers, and some they sent ouer see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons. I know a merchaunt man, which shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybraryes for .xl. shyllynges pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuffe hath he occupyed in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these .x. yeares, and yet

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whom I quote), who hated the monastic institution as much as any man, could not believe this. He adds: "A more satisfactory vindication of the abbey of Glaston, from any imputation of immorality or disorder, cannot be desired; while the uncharitable insinuation at the end of Layton's letter, and the absurd confession, said to have been volunteered by the monks, of their own vicious inclinations, afford a pretty strong proof of the spirit of malignity and fabrication in which the visitors executed their commission." p. 221.

Richard Layton, inviting Cromwell to his house, writes to him very much in the same language as the Pershore monk: "Simeon was never so glade to se Chryst his master, as I shalbe to se your Lordeshipe in this your owne house, and all that ever shalbe in hit for my lyffe." *Original letters*, vol. 3. p. 71.

he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come."[55] True, that bishop Bale is here speaking of the general contents of the monastic and cathedral libraries: he was not one who would have lamented the loss of any book except perhaps some obscene jest book, or an old chronicle.[56] But from his facts we learn how extensive was the destruction. The indiscriminating passion of the days of Edward the sixth, knowing only that the greater part of the collections consisted of service books, involved all in one common ruin: and secular historians have to lament the furious bigotry which demolished the annals of our country, no less than they who, with

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[55] The laboryouse journey of John Leylande, &c. enlarged by Johan Bale. *Lives of the antiquaries*, vol. I. In the library of the British museum (Bibl. reg. 2. B. vij) is a most magnificent manuscript, containing histories from the old Testament, a calendar, psalter, hymns, and a litany. This was once given to queen Mary, according to the following very significant entry on the last page of the volume: "Hunc librum, nautis ad exteros transvehendum datum, spectatus et honestus vir Baldwinus smithus Londini a portoriis et vectigalibus retraxit, atque Mariæ illustrissimæ Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ reginæ donavit, mense octobri, anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo tertio, regni sui primo."

[56] I do not of course mean but that the chronicles also are of great value.

It is not possible to read the *Itinerary* and other works of John Leland without amazement at the treasures of the monastic and of cathedral libraries in his time. He was a man whose experience is greatly to be envied. As I have said in another work (a dissertation on ancient ivories) one would have liked to have travelled with Pausanias or Leland. In one of Leland's books he tells us that he was at Glastonbury in the time of Richard Whiting, the last abbot, and saw the library there: "Vix certè limen intraveram" (he says) "cum antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo incuteret meo; eâque de causâ, pedem paululum sistebam."

an earnest and sober reverence enquiring into the old religious observances of their church, can find but few records left to guide them through the mists of error, in which the ignorance and misrepresentations of after-ages have obscured their path.[57]

I now conclude this dissertation. It has run on to a far greater length than was anticipated at the beginning, and yet much has been omitted which might have been given; more tables of contents, comparisons between various editions, particular changes in some of the more important offices which from time to time occurred. I shall be satisfied if I have in any degree thrown some additional light

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[57] The determination to destroy all the old service books did not die away with the reign of Edward the sixth. Although the strict orders of previous years may have been no longer of necessity to be obeyed, yet the spirit which prompted them was as powerful as ever. In the year 1571 we read about one Elis ap Howel, "Because he being sextene in the cathedral churche of St. David's, of long time did conceall certain ungodly popish books: as masse books, hympnalls, grailes, antiphoners, and such like (as it were looking for a day): master chauntor deprivid hym of the sextenship and the ffees thereunto belonging. And the said mr. chaunter on the . . . day of this instant July, caused the said ungodly books to be canceld and torne in pieces in the vestrie before his face, in the presens of mr. chauncellor and others." *Hist. and antiquities of St. David's.*

"Neutiquam Anglis olim defuerunt scriptores, qui res gestas memoriæ commendarent seu in tabulas referrent: quinimmo nulla orbis Christiani regio nostram scriptorum numero antecelluit. Horum autem pars minima ad nos transmissa est; haud ita temporis injuriâ tamen quam sacrilegio intercepta. Perierunt pars maxima, quando avarâ sæculi superioris iniquitate monasteria eversa sunt, ecclesiæ collegiatæ demolitæ, bibliothecæ utrarumque direptæ, laceratæ, vilissimis usibus vel etiam flammis damnatæ. Atque utinam ecclesiæ cathedrales sacrilegorum rapinam effugere potuissent!" Wharton, *Angl. sacr.* tom. I. xj.

upon an intricate subject; one on which hitherto [1846] we may almost say that no labour has been spent. Indeed many of the explanations which have been suggested by various writers had better never have been attempted, for they could not possibly have been the result of genuine enquiry; they have rather been the means of perpetuating mistakes and of multiplying difficulties. I cannot expect but that I myself have advanced some opinions which others, better learned, may differ from. In examining and correcting these, it must be that further information will be acquired and communicated: hence a benefit will be gained. I do not ask for indulgence; it is always useless: but those will be the last to withhold it who by their own experience know that there are few subjects involved in greater obscurity than are the Ancient Service Books of the Church of England.

Appendix to Dissertation upon the Service Books.

Extracts from Inventories of Parish churches taken in the thirteenth century, in the diocese of Salisbury.

THESE inventories are contained in the very valuable volume more than once referred to in the foregoing dissertation, and to which we shall be again indebted. It is preserved among the muniments of the bishops of Salisbury. Commonly it is called the "Registrum sancti Osmundi:" but it has no further claim to that title, than as having at the beginning a copy, the oldest I presume extant, of the famous consuetudinary drawn up by that bishop. The remainder of the volume, amounting to four-fifths of the whole, is composed of sundry charters relating to the see of Salisbury, to the property of the dean and chapter, and to various privileges bestowed upon them: following these, are the contemporary records of visitations held about A.D. 1220 by William de Wenda the then dean of Sarum, who (says Le Neve) was elected in that year: a number of other documents succeed, chiefly legal and having reference to transactions during the episcopate of bishop Poore: an account of the election of bishop Bingham, successor to Poore: of the removal of the church from old to new Sarum: an inventory (imperfect) of the ornaments of the cathedral: and other matters. I do not pretend to give more than the faintest sketch of this most

important book: but it certainly ought rather to be called the register of bishop Poore, than of saint Osmund. The manuscript is a small folio, upon vellum; of various hands and dates; from about the year 1210 to 1240.

The following inventories of books, at that time belonging to some parish churches in the diocese of Salisbury, will be found peculiarly interesting and illustrative of much that has been discussed in the dissertation. All those items are omitted which do not refer to books: such as of the vestments, chalices, patens, &c. They are not connected with my present subject, and whilst I regret being obliged to pass them over I leave them with the hope that some day they may be printed.

I proceed now to these extracts:—

"Inventarium factum apud Sunning per W. decanum Sar. anno domini M^o^.CC^o^.xx^o^.

"—Unum missale novum absque epistolis, sine musica, et sine gradali: et aliud vetus missale, in quo leguntur epistolæ, plenum, sine musica: liganda. Breviarium vetus absque musica, sufficiens. Antiphonarium vetus, minus sufficiens, et aliud novum, cum psalterio in principio, sufficiens, de dono Vitalis vicarii, sed ligandum. Gradale vetus, cum tropario. Et aliud novum. Duo psalteria vetera; textus coopertus argento, continens evangelia anni; troparius per se; ordinale; quidam novus liber, continens missas privatas; manuale parvum; vetus psalterium, ex una parte rubeum, ex altera, album: habens crucem osseam extra."

"Item est capella apud Rothescamp.—Isti sunt libri. Missale vetus, nullius pretii. Breviarium bonum cum antiphonario, et ymnarium et collectarium

cum notitia. Item unum gradale parvum, vetus et nullius pretii: et aliud novum in quaternis, in duobus voluminibus, cum tropario imperfecto. Item troparius parvulus, vetus; psalterium vetus; item manuale; ymnarius parvus."

"Item est ibi capella apud Wokyngeham.—Isti sunt libri ejusdem capellæ. Unum missale cum notula, sufficiens: et unum antiphonarium, sufficiens, cum collectario: et capitularium, et ymnarium. Item unum missale vetus. Breviarium nullum. Unum gradale minus sufficiens; psalterium sufficiens; item aliud gradale vetus; item aliud missale vetus, litera Anglica. Unus quaternus continens lectiones et responsoria, de festivitate omnium sanctorum."

"Item capella pertinens ad ecclesiam de Sunning: capella de Herst.—Hii sunt libri ejusdem capellæ. Unum missale cum tropario in fine, cum notula, sufficiens. Et unum antiphonarium cum collectario et capitulario, et ymnario, et psalterio, in eodem volumine, et in fine, legenda de communi sanctorum. Et unum breviarium, scil. temporale et sanctorale in eodem volumine, minus sufficiens. Et unum gradale vetus et cum tropario, nullius pretii; item psalterium vetus, et manuale vetus; item unum troparium parvum per se."

"Item est ibi (capella) apud Sandhurst.—Isti sunt libri. Missale vetus sine notula; antiphonarium vetus et insufficiens, quod est de Wokyngham; breviarium nullum. Item legenda ab adventu usque ad septuages. quæ est de Wokyngeham. Et unum gradale sufficiens, et psalterium debile."

"Item est ibi capella apud Edburgefeld.—Hii sunt libri. Missale vetus sine nota; manuale vetus; antiphonarium vetus, et parvi pretii; temporale

breviarii, in duobus voluminibus, vetus et attritum; graduale vetus et parvi pretii. Item parvus liber continens capitularium, collectarium et ymnarium. Item parvus alius liber continens ymnarium, et Venite: et intonationes venitarii. Psalterium vetus nullius pretii."

"Inventarium factum in ecclesia de Mera per W. decanum Sar. anno domini M°.CC°.xx°. qui erat annus tertius pontificatus Ricardi Sar. episcopi: in vigil. S. Michaelis."

"— Hii sunt libri ecclesiæ de Mera. Unum missale novum et sufficiens, cum nota sufficienti: et unum vetus cum nota, sufficiens. Unum breviarium in duobus voluminibus. Duo antiphonaria, unum novum in quo continetur psalterium, et collectarium, et capitularium et ymnarium: et aliud in quo continetur collectarium, et capitularium et ymnarium. Item unum gradale bonum et sufficiens, sed ligandum. Et aliud vetus cum tropario parvi pretii. Unum manuale: et unum psalterium nullius pretii. Item unum gradale novum. Item liber vetustissimus habens crucem superpositam super quam juratur."

"Isti sunt libri ecclesiæ de Hegtredebir. Duo missalia. Duo gradalia. Unum troparium. Unum antiphonarium. Duo breviaria nova: unum temporale et aliud sanctorum: et duo breviaria vetera, unum temporale, et aliud sanctorum. Unum psalterium parvi pretii; unum ordinale; et pastorale Gregorii; liber sermonum; decreta pontificum."

"Anno domini M°.CC°.xxvj°. visitavit W. decanus Sar. capellam de Cnuch.

"— Hæc sunt ornamenta. Unum missale vetus: parvum et nullius valoris. j. breviarium vetus et

insufficiens. j. psalterium parvum, vetus. j. gradale novum in quaternis cum tropario. Item collectarium et capitularium de dono ejusdem. Item unum antiphonarium novum in quaternis, cum tropario. Item breviarium et antiphonarium ab adventu Domini usque ascensionem in quaternis, scilicet in xviij quaternis: de quibus xij quaterni sunt continui et continent usque ad nonam lectionem in septuagesima. Item sunt ibi vj quaterni continui de eodem volumine, qui incipiunt a lectione quinta passionis dominicæ, et durant usque vigiliam ascensionis dominicæ. Item j. canon missæ novus."

"Hæc sunt ornamenta ecclesiæ S. Petri de Swaleuclive.—Hii sunt libri. j. missale. j. gradale. Unum troparium. Unum antiphonarium: et isti non sunt plenarie sufficientes. Breviarium temporale, sufficiens. Aliud de communi sanctorum cum antiphonario ad illud pertinente.

Hic est defectus in dicta ecclesia. Breviarium sanctorum proprium; ordinale; manuale; collectarium, et capitularium; consuetudinarium."

"Willielmus decanus Sar. visitavit ecclesiam de Hull. Anno gratiæ M°.CC°.xx°.—Libri ibidem inventi. Missale qualequale, cum notula, ligandum; breviarium vetus et minus sufficiens; antiphonarium debile, et ligandum; manuale sufficiens; psalterium sufficiens; item liber ordinalis; unum troparium; ymnarius sufficiens. Non est ibi gradale."

"Inventarium factum apud Horningesham per eundem decanum anno gratiæ M°.CC°.xxiiij°.—Libri ibidem inventi. Missale vetus inordinate compositum, continens psalterium et ymnarium. Collectarium et capitularium cum notula et cum tropario; antiphonarium sufficiens; continens psalterium; bre-

viarium nullius pretii; j. gradale vetus et ligandum; j. manuale satis sufficiens."

"Hæc sunt ornamenta ecclesiæ Sarum inventa in thesauraria iij°. kal. Aprilis anno ab incarnatione Domini M°.CC°.xiiij°. recepta tunc ab Abrahamo thesaurario sicut ipse proprio manuscripto integravit coram decano et capitulo, anno ab incarnatione Domini, M°.CC°.xxij°.

"Textus unus aureus magnus continens saphiros xx. et smaragdos vj. et thopazios viij. et alemandinas xviij. et gernettas viij. et perlas xij. Item unus evangelicus bene deauratus, cum lapidibus viij. Item textus unus parvus, cum imagine beatæ Mariæ, cum lapidibus xix. Item texti quatuor cooperti argento, deaurati, omnes præter unum. Item texti duo sine argento."—"Ad altare omnium sanctorum. missale j. gradale j. Item liber evangeliorum et epistolarum, et quaterni .iij. cum alleluia," &c.—"Ad altare beati Nicholai, missale j. Item evangelistarium et epistolarium j."—"Ad altare beati Thomæ martyris. Item missale j. et gradale j. epistolarium j."

List of the Titles of Service

Books mentioned in the Dissertation.

A Dissertation upon the ancient Occasional Offices of the Church of England.

Dissertation on the Occasional Offices.

CHAPTER I.

I HAVE avoided as much as possible the addition of notes to the text of the Offices which form the greater part of these volumes, being desirous that the reader should be furnished with an accurate edition and arrangement of those offices, illustrated only by some important variations between them and the uses of the other churches of York, or Hereford, or Bangor; and by an explanation of some passages which might seem to involve difficulty or obscurity. Hence I have not noticed the almost numberless variations, many of them of considerable importance, which exist between the old ritual and pontifical of the church of England and the corresponding service books at present used in the Roman catholic church. These last are to be procured anywhere, and every reader who may wish to pursue the enquiry can easily make the comparison for himself. My object has been to supply some information respecting the observances and faith and practice of the English Church, from her own authentic documents, during the middle ages.

But I think that some observations may not unfitly be thrown together, by way of preface to these

offices, consisting chiefly of extracts and collections from the old canons and orders of the church of England.

From the time of St. Augustine of Canterbury down to the middle of the sixteenth century the church of England held that the sacraments are seven in number. They are named and, in a certain sense, distinguished in a provincial statute of archbishop Peckham, in the year 1281: "Septem ecclesiæ sunt sacramenta, quorum dispensatores sunt prælati ecclesiæ; quorum quinque ab omnibus debent recipi Christianis; utpote baptismus, confirmatio, pœnitentia, eucharistia, extrema unctio; . . . . sunt et alia duo sacramenta, scil. ordo et matrimonium, quorum primum perfectis convenit, secundum vero novi testamenti tempore solum convenit imperfectis."[1]

The statute says "sacramenta, quorum dispensatores sunt prælati ecclesiæ:" upon which Lyndwood's gloss is; "Hic vocantur prælati nedum superiores, ut episcopi: sed etiam inferiores, ut archidiaconi, presbyteri plebani, et rectores ecclesiarum. Unde quoad hanc dispensationem quilibet, qui præest curæ animarum, dicitur esse prælatus, dummodo habeat potestatem sacramenta dispensandi."[2] That is (as he proceeds to explain) of course in their degree, confirmation and orders being committed only to the bishops.

The church of England throughout the middle ages constantly insisted upon all her priests being

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 56. Compare also *Concilium Dunelm.*, "*De numero sacramentorum*," tom. 1. p. 574: "*Imperfectis*, sc. Laicis, qui respectu clericorum dicuntur imperfecti." Lyndwood, lib. 1. tit. 7, Ignorantia, *verb.* Imperfectis.

[2] Lib. 1. tit. vij, Ignorantia, *verb.* Prælati.

prepared, if called upon, to perform the duties of their sacred ministry: and indeed not only parish-priests, but every priest, when it might be necessary and without intrusion upon another's charge. To this carefulness in a great degree, and not to any general laxity of living and manners among the English clergy in mediæval times, are we to attribute those frequent provincial and diocesan statutes, that priests should live piously, orderly, and in the severe practice of all religious duties.

We find repeated canons and orders that the sacraments were to be administered to the people, freely and without charge. It would have been idle to have insisted upon the necessity that all men should receive some of them, and nevertheless, by tacitly permitting money to be paid and demanded for the administration, put the reception of them out of the reach of the poor.

First then in the year 1126, the second canon of the council of London: "Interdicimus, ut pro chrismate, pro oleo, pro baptismate, pro pœnitentia, pro visitatione infirmorum, seu unctione, pro communione corporis Christi, pro sepultura nullum omnino pretium exigatur."[3] Another, to the same effect, was enacted at the synod of Westminster, A.D. 1138, adding the "desponsatio mulierum" and the sentence "quod qui præsumpserit, excommunicationi subjaceat."[4] Again: by the council of London in the last year of the same century, A.D. 1200: "Canon viij. *Nihil exigendum pro sacramentis administrandis.* . . . inhibemus: ne a personis eccle-

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 408.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 415.

siasticis deducendis ad sedem, vel sacerdotibus vel aliis clericis instituendis, aut sepeliendis mortuis, aut benedicendis nubentibus, seu pro chrismate, seu quibuslibet aliis sacramentis aliquid exigatur."[5] Passing by a statute of a council of Durham, A.D. 1220, to the same purpose, "sub pœna suspensionis;"[6] another, of a provincial constitution at Oxford, in 1222,[7] by archbishop Stephen Langton, upon which Lyndwood's gloss should be consulted;[8] we come to the legatine constitution of Otho: "*De septem sacramentis, ut gratis conferantur.* Sacramenta ecclesiastica, in quibus, tanquam in vasis cœlestibus, salutis remedia continentur: necnon oleum sanctificatum et chrisma, a ministris ecclesiæ pure atque devote, qualibet exclusa cupiditatis labe, statuimus, et statuendo præcipimus exhiberi, nulla difficultate in eis adhibita exhibendis, prætextu consuetudinis alicujus, qua dicantur ab eis, qui ea recipiunt, aliquibus aliqua persolvenda."[9] Upon this statute John de Athon has a gloss, to which I must refer the reader.[10] And, to name no more, similar regulations and orders were made in a diocesan synod of Worcester in 1240, of Norwich in 1257, and of Exeter in 1287.[11]

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[5] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 506.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 575.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 589.

[8] Lib. 5. tit. ij. De simonia, *Firmiter inhibemus.*

[9] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 650. Cf. constit. iv.

[10] *De septem sacramentis.* Compare the second constitution of Othobon, "*ne pro sacramentis ecclesiasticis aliquid exigatur,*" with Athon's gloss.

[11] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. pp. 671, 735; tom. 2. p. 150. See with regard also to the Greek church Balsamon's commentary upon the twenty-third canon of the synod "in Trullo:" "Ut nullus . . . præbens communionem, ab eo qui communicat, ejus participationis gratia, obolos

The sacrament of baptism (as might be expected) very early attracted the attention of the rulers of the Church, that it might be decently and duly administered. The *σωτήριον βάπτισμα*, the *θεῖον καὶ ζωοποιὸν βάπτισμα* of the fathers was not looked upon in the Anglo-saxon church as a mere ceremony, but as a necessary means by which men might be saved. As St. Cyril of Jerusalem taught in the fourth century, speaking of baptism, *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπεθνήσκετε καὶ ἐγεννᾶσθε· καὶ τὸ σωτήριον ἐκεῖνο ὕδωρ καὶ τάφος ὑμῖν ἐγίνετο καὶ μήτηρ*,[12] so did archbishop Ælfric, in his easter homily, teach in like manner, "that the heathen child is baptized, and changes not its outer form, although inwardly converted; it is carried to the font sinful through Adam's transgression and is washed inwardly from all its sin, yet changes not its outward form. So also the holy font-water, which is called the well-spring of life, is outwardly like any other water and subject to corruption: but the Holy Ghost descends with power upon the corruptible water through the blessing of the priest, and through that ghostly might all sin is washed away both of the body and the soul."[13]

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vel quamvis aliam speciem exigat. Non est enim venalis gratia," &c. *Bevereg. Pandect. canon.* tom. 1. p. 181.

[12] *Catech. mystag.* 2. *Opera*, p. 312.

[13] *Hom. in di. sanctum paschæ*, § 4. Cf. Beda, *Hist. eccl.* lib. 2. c. 5.

On a blank leaf of a most magnificent manuscript breviary "ad usum Sarum," upon vellum, given to the library of the cathedral of Salisbury by the late bishop Denison, is the following exhortation. It is noted; and the doxology is the earliest which I remember to have seen in English with the notation. The writing is later than the rest of the volume, being about 1470:—

"Remember youre promys

The English provincial and diocesan synods are full of orders relating to the administration of this sacrament, beginning with the penitential of archbishop Theodore in the seventh century. Iteration of baptism was strictly forbidden: "1. Qui bis baptizati sunt ignoranter, non indigent pro eo penitentiam, nisi quod, secundum canones, non possunt ordinari nisi pro magna necessitate. 2. Qui autem non ignoranter iterum baptizati sunt, quasi iterum Christum crucifixerunt, vj annos pœniteant," &c. Again, on another point: "Si quis episcopus aut presbyter non trinam mersionem in baptismo celebret sed semel mergat, quod dare videtur in morte Domini, deponatur; non enim dixit nobis Dominus: In morte mea baptizate, sed, 'Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti.'"[14] Shortly afterwards in the excerpts of Egbert, archbishop of York, we find two canons: "x. Ut a cunctis sacerdotibus jus et tempus baptismatis temporibus congruis, secundum canonicam institutionem, cautissime observentur. xi. Ut omnes sacerdotes, quibuscunque horis, omnibus indigentibus baptismum, infirmitatis causa, diligentissime tribuant." And immediately following

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made yn baptym. And chrystys mercyful bloud shedyng. By the wyche most holy sprynklyng. Off all youre syns youe haue fre perdon.

Haue mercy uppon me, oo god.

Affter thy grat mercy.

Remember, etc.

And accordyng to the multytude of the mercys.

Do a wey my wyckydness.

Remember, etc.

Glory be to the father, and to the son, and to the holy goost.

As hyt was yn the begynnyng, so now, and euer, and yn the world off worlds, so be hyt.

By the wyche."

[14] *Liber pœnit.* cap. xxxviij. 1, xlviij. 20; Thorpe, vol. 2. pp. 45, 58.

these is a canon bearing on a matter already spoken of: "Ut nullus presbyter sacrum officium, sive baptismatis sacramentum, aut aliquid donorum spiritalium pro aliquo pretio vendere præsumat; ne vendentes et ementes in templo columbas imitentur."[15] About the same time, in that province, an abuse appears to have crept in which the archbishop notices and forbids: "xlij. Sunt quidam qui miscent vinum cum aqua baptismatis non recte: et Christus non jussit baptizari vino, sed aqua."

Some few years before this, the ecclesiastical laws of king Ina had decreed that every infant should be baptized within thirty days, under a penalty: "Infans intra triginta dies baptizetur: si hoc non ita fiat, triginta solidis compenset (parens): si tunc mortuus sit absque baptismate, compenset illud omnibus quæ habet."[16] In the tenth century we find this period somewhat extended, by the canons enacted under king Edgar: "Docemus etiam, ut quilibet sacerdos baptismum peragat, simul ac requiritur: et deinde in parochia sua (on hiſ ſcriftſcire) præcipiat, ut quilibet infans baptizetur intra xxxvij. dies, et ut nemo nimis diu ab episcopo confirmari differat."[17] To the same purpose are, the tenth of the laws of the Northumbrian priests, in the same century; the twenty-sixth of the canons of Ælfric; and lastly, the seventeenth of the ecclesiastical institutes: "If any one bring a sickly child to a mass-priest, be it of whatever mass-priest's district it may, then let him baptize it

[15] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 102; Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 99. Cf. 27th of Ælfric's canons.

[16] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 58.

[17] *Ibid.* p. 226. Cf. Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 247.

forthwith, and for no business let him neglect to baptize it, be it from whence it may. If he on any account neglect it, and it die without baptism, then be it known to him, that on doomsday he shall render an account for that soul to God."[18] Once more, a canon of the council of Calchuth in the year 816: "Sciant etiam presbyteri, quando sacrum baptismum ministrant, ut non effundant aquam sanctam super capita infantium, sed semper mergantur in lavacro; sicut exemplum præbuit per semetipsum Dei Filius omni credenti, quando esset ter mersus in undis Jordanis."[19]

Passing on to the age which succeeded the Norman conquest we come to a canon of the council of York, in 1195; and now find other particulars: "Statuimus, ne in baptismate plures quam tres suscipiant puerum de sacro fonte; masculum duo mares, et una mulier; fœminam duo fœminæ, et unus mas: ubi autem puer, cujus baptisma ignoratur, reperitur expositus, sive cum sale sive sine sale reperiatur, baptizetur; cum non intelligatur iteratum, quod nescitur fuisse collatum."[20] In the year 1200 a council at London decreed, after repeating that where baptism appeared not to have been performed it was to be administered, "et ut non liceat diaconis baptizare, nisi duplici necessitate; viz. quia sacerdos non potest, vel absens, vel stulte non vult, et mors imminet puero. Si vero in necessitate

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[18] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 218; Thorpe, vol. 2. pp. 353, 413. The clause in the last canon about "another mass-priest's district" has reference to an order immediately following, that no priest should entice people from another's district.

[19] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 171.

[20] *Ibid.* tom. 1. p. 501.

puer baptizetur a laico, quod fieri potest a patre vel matre, absque matrimonii præjudicio, sequentia immersionem non præcedentia per sacerdotem expleantur."[21]

A council was held at Durham in 1220, at which we find that several canons relating to the sacrament of baptism were published: "*Quælibet ecclesia habeat baptisterium.* Baptisterium habeatur in qualibet ecclesia baptismali,[22] lapideum, vel aliquod competens, quod decenter cooperiatur et reverenter conservetur, et in alios usus non convertatur. Aqua vero, in qua baptizatur puer, ultra septem dies in baptisterio non servetur. Si vero puer domi[23] a laico, propter necessitatem fuerit baptizatus, aqua, propter reverentiam baptismi, vel fundatur in ignem, vel ad ecclesiam in baptisterium fundenda deferatur; et vas illud vel comburatur, vel ad usus ecclesiæ deputetur. *Forma baptizandi.* Semper sacerdos interroget laicum diligenter, cum in necessitate baptizaverit puerum, quid dixerit, et quid fecerit. Et si præcedente diligenti inquisitione,

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[21] *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 505.

[22] Lyndwood explains this: "Sive cathedrali sive parochiali, tali viz. quæ habet populum: nam in ecclesia collegiata vel conventuali quæ non habet populum, non debet esse baptisterium. Dicitur etiam ecclesia baptismalis respectu capellarum subjectarum, imo ad ipsas ecclesias baptismales tanquam matrices pro baptismo recurritur." Lib. 3. tit. 24, Baptisterium habeatur.

[23] "Sc. ubi natus est puer, vel in alio loco quam in baptisterio ad hoc deputato. Et nota, quod extra ecclesias, ubi sunt fontes baptismales deputati, regulariter non licet aliquem baptizare. Fallit tamen in liberis regum vel principum." Lyndwood, *in loc. cit.* Thus it would seem that royal children are baptized in the palace of their parents, by special dispensation of the general rule. See the rubric below, p. 33.

facta sibi plena fide, invenerit laicum distincte et in forma ecclesiæ baptizasse in Latino, sive in Gallico, seu in Anglico, approbet factum; sin autem, baptizet puerum: Non intendo te rebaptizare, et si tu non es baptizatus, ego baptizo te, &c. *De patrinis.* Ad levandum puerum de fonte, tres ad plus recipiantur in baptismo maris, duo mares et una fœmina; fœmina vero a duabus fœminis et uno mare suscipiatur. Quod amplius est, a malo est." Then follow other canons, similar to some already extracted of other councils, about deacons baptizing; of the baptism of children found exposed, &c.[24]

Great care was to be taken not only that there should be a cover to the font but that it should have a proper fastening and lock. The ninth of the constitutions of St. Edmund, in 1236, gives a reason and adds a penalty: "fontes sub serura clausi teneantur, propter sortilegia. . . . . Si vero is, ad quem spectat custodia, incaute ea reliquerit, tribus mensibus ab officio suo suspendatur; et si per ejus incuriam aliquid nefarium contigerit, graviori subjaceat ultioni."[25] The "fons sacer cum serura" is ordered by the canons of several councils: for example, at York in 1250, and by archbishop Winchelsey in 1305.

The orders just quoted of the council of Durham

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[24] *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 576. See Martene, *De ant. ecc. rit.* lib. 1. cap. 1. 16. One of the earliest orders made by the Church with respect to the cases of exposed infants was in an African council, cited by Bingham, book xi. cap. iv. 17. It was repeated in the 84th canon of the council in Trullo, upon which the reader should consult Balsamon's commentary, and Zonaras', in *Bevereg. pandect.* tom. 1. p. 254; and Catalani, *Conc. comm.* tom. 2. p. 206.

[25] *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 636.

were repeated in the province of Canterbury about two years after in a council at Oxford, under Stephen Langton: again, and others to the same effect, in 1236 among the constitutions of archbishop Edmund: in the diocese of Lichfield, in 1237: in the diocese of Chichester, in 1246: and in various other councils, which I do not think it necessary to specify; of which one of the most particular in its directions is the second canon of the synod of Exeter, held under bishop Quivil, in the year 1287.

The York canon of 1250 (referred to in the preceding page) orders a locked font as a part of the necessary furniture of a church.[26] Lyndwood explains: "ut aqua servetur munda, et ne laicis vel aliis ad aquam ejusdem pateat accessus ad alique nefaria exercenda."[27] In many parish churches the remains of the ancient fastenings may yet be seen.[28]

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[26] *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 698.

[27] Lib. 3. tit. 24, Baptisterium habeatur.

[28] I may perhaps venture to express surprise that it is still not uncommon to see in English parish churches not merely a common and small bason put into the font in order to supply the place of it, but even this left in a neglected, dusty, or dirty state. In some churches of large and populous parishes there actually is no font at all. It is not easy to understand, with the reformed order of the administration of baptism lying open before him, how a clergyman can allow so scandalous an indecency. Certainly it is not because of the want of directions with respect to a better practice, since the reformation. The *Booke of certaine canons* in 1571 enjoined all ordinaries to see "that in euery churche there be a holy founte, not a basen, wherein baptisme may be ministered, and it be kept comely and cleane." Again, the visitation articles of Bancroft, bishop of London, in 1601: "x. Whether doth your parson . . . baptize in your parish church or chappel,

Lyndwood remarks upon the order that the font must be of stone or of other proper material, "lapideum vel aliud competens:" "*Aliud*, sc. de alia materia congrua et honesta, tali viz. quæ sit solida, durabilis, et fortis, ac aquæ infusæ retentiva. *Competens.* Sic quod baptizandus possit in eo mergi."[29] We may say, I think, that immersion was the usual practice in England in the middle ages. Lyndwood further observes upon the order "vas illud comburatur, vel ad usus ecclesiæ deputetur:" "tale namque vas, licet non sit sacrum, ratione tamen venerationis sacramenti non debet converti ad usus privatos sive prophanos, sicut legitur in simili de aliis materiis non sacris, sacris usibus deputatis incendio comburendis. *Usus ecclesiæ*, sc. ut in illo laventur vestimenta ecclesiæ, vel possunt talia vasa verti ad usum prælati ecclesiæ in aliquo ministerio honesto."

From this last gloss it seems evident that even though a child through necessity was baptized at home yet the vessel was to be of sufficient size to immerse the infant; as Lyndwood expressly says in the note which immediately precedes: "*Vas illud*, sc. in quo puer baptizatus est. Et hæc litera, ut videtur, innuit, quod baptismus debet fieri in aliquo vase, sic quod in aqua mergi possit baptizandus. Et talis immersio debet esse trina, nisi consuetudo habeat ut sit unica tantum." But he goes on to say that immersion is not of necessity: "Tamen hoc non intelligas de necessitate baptismi,

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any infants, not in the fonte according to the ancient custom, but in a bason?"

[29] Lib. 3. tit. 24, Baptisterium habeatur.

sc. ut fiat immersio, sed potest fieri etiam per modum effusionis vel aspersionis. Et hoc maxime est verum, quando consuetudo ecclesiæ hoc patitur, vel quando necessitas incumbit propter defectum, sive propter periculum pueri, vel etiam propter imbecillitatem sacerdotis non potentis sustentare infantem: in his enim casibus, et similibus, sufficit quod caput aspergatur, vel super caput aqua effundatur, vel in aquam mergatur, tanquam pars principalior."

So in another place upon this important point, the same great writer quotes the example of St. Peter who baptized five thousand on one day; but this must have been by aspersion and not by immersion: and he holds it to be sufficient, if one drop only of water touches the person to be baptized: "quod sufficit, quod modica stilla aquæ projecta a baptizante tangat baptizandum."[30]

Among the consistorial acts of the diocese of Rochester there is a record giving an account of an examination of a midwife, which bears so strongly as a fact upon the question immediately before us that I shall here insert it:[31] "Anno 1523,

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[30] Lyndwood, lib. 3. tit. 25, Quod in constitutione, *verb.* Immersio.

My space prevents more than advice to the student that he should carefully read the four or five chapters of the first book of the *Pupilla oculi*, which treat of the sacrament of baptism. It is a good and compendious account of the doctrine and practice of the church of England in the middle ages. The subjects treated include baptism generally, and its effect: the matter, the form, and the minister: the intention of the minister and of the subject: doubtful baptism: exorcism and catechising: and the duties of godfathers and godmothers.

[31] Upon this whole subject the student should consult a work, in which there is much

Oct. 14, Eliz. Gaynsforde, obstetrix, examinata dicit in vim juramenti sui sub hac forma verborum. I the aforesaid Elizabeth seeing the child of Thomas Everey late born in jeopardy of life, by the authority of mine office, then beyng midwyfe, did christen[32] the same child under this manner. In the name of the Fader, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I cristen thee Denys; effundend' meram aquam super caput infantul'. Interrogata erat, whether the childe was born and delyuered from the wyfe of the said Thomas; whereto she answereth and saythe, that the child was not born, for she saw nothing of the child but the hedde, and for perell the childe was in, and in that tyme of nede, she christened as is aforesaid, and caste water with her hand on the child's hede; after which the child was born, and was had to the churche,

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curious learning, by Cangiamila: "Embryologia sacra, sive de officio sacerdotum, medicorum, et aliorum circa æternam parvulorum in utero existentium salutem." Panorini, 1758. And Benedict XIV, *Opera*, tom. 12. p. 247, &c.; tom. 11. p. 42. Compare Ellis, *Original letters*, ser. 3. vol. 2. p. 226.

[32] I would quote a note from another book which I published in 1848: "The common use of 'christen' for 'baptize' in English works of the middle ages is well known to every one who is at all conversant with writings of that date. There is more than one example in the *Liber festivalis*. Another is in the form of the greater excommunication: 'clerkes seyn that a child byfore it be cristned, it hath a wikked spirit dwelling in the soule. The wiche wikkede spirit is cast out throrough prayers of the prest whanne it shal be cristned.' Again, the rare tract *Exornatorium curatorum* (printed about 1508) speaking of the sacraments: 'the fyrste is baptysme or crystendome, which putteth away orygynall syne.'" *Holy Baptism*, p. 135.

Compare also the following from the Complaint of the Plowman: "Bed them go, and fullen all the folke in the name of the Father," &c., cit. Foxe, *Acts and monuments*, vol. 1. p. 524.

where the prieste gaue to it that chrystenden that lakkyd, and the child is yet alyf."

The question about baptizing children during birth was much discussed in the middle ages. Lyndwood's gloss upon archbishop Peckham's constitution is this: "*An puer in utero matris possit baptizari?* Si namque adhuc esset in utero, baptizari non potest. . . . Si puer non sit perfecte natus, tamen caput pueri vel aliud membrum apparet, si non timeatur periculum mortis, expectanda est totalis egressio pueri ex utero. Alias autem si periculum mortis immineat, tunc egressa parte principali, sc. capite, in quo operationes animæ magis manifestantur, ut quidam dicunt, baptizari debet," &c.[33] Hostiensis says, "Quid si mulier laborat in partu, adeo quod de morte ipsius et prolis timetur, sed non potest videri, utrum sit masculus vel femina, consulo obstetrici, quod accipiat aquam, et dicat sic, *Creatura Dei, ego te baptizo*, &c. Si proles nascitur, deportetur ad sacerdotem, et suppleat quod deest."[34] The following entry is in the register of the parish of Staplehurst in Kent: "1547. Ther was baptised by the middwyffe and so buryed, the childe of Thoms. Goldhm, called Creature."[35]

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[33] Lib. iij. tit. 25, *verb.* maternis uteris.

[34] Pars 2. cap. iv. K. I have written more on this subject, and as to lay baptism, in *Holy Baptism*, chap. 8, 9.

[35] Burn's *History of parish registers*, p. 85.

The revised Roman ritual has this rubric: "Nemo in utero matris clausus baptizari debet. Sed si infans caput emiserit, et periculum mortis immineat, baptizetur in capite: nec postea si vivus evaserit, erit iterum baptizandus. . . Si vero ita baptizatus deinde mortuus prodierit ex utero, debet in loco sacro sepeliri." The student may refer to the *Summa* of Aquinas, pars

The form for administering baptism by lay folk in case of necessity will be found below, p. 31, as given in the Sarum manual. The following are the corresponding rubric and form from the York manual:—

"*Sacerdos parochialis debet suis parochianis frequenter proponere formam baptizandi parvulos in absentia presbyteri, si necesse fuerit, quæ est hæc in lingua vulgari:* N. I crysten thee in the name of the Fader, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Goste, *aquam super parvulos spargendo interim vel ipsum in aquam mergendo ter vel saltem semel. Et quod quilibet homo sive clericus sive laicus et etiam pater pueri vel etiam mater ejus potest in extremæ necessitatis articulo proprium filium baptizare nisi fuerit aliquis alius vel aliqua alia præsens qui hoc facere sciret et vellet.*"

A provincial constitution of archbishop Peckham is to the same effect, but recognises local variations of form, which of course must not interfere with the substance of it: "Dicatur ergo a sic baptizantibus: I cristen thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; vel alias in lingua materna secundum consuetudinem patriæ."[36]

3. quest. lxviij; Scotus, *Rep. Paris.* lib. iv. dist. 4. quest. 4; the *Pupilla oculi*, pars 2. cap. 2; and the *Manipulus curatorum*, fol. xij. Connected also with the subject is one of the enquiries sent by St. Augustine to St. Gregory: "*Interrogatio.* Si prægnans mulier debet baptizari?" The answer, as might be expected, is in the affirmative. Beda, *Hist. eccl.* lib. 1. cap. xxvij.

[36] This constitution offers a curious proof of the then common use of French in certain ranks of the people. The form is supplied also in that language. So, also, some fifty years earlier, the form in marriage is ordered by a canon of a synod of Durham (presently quoted) to be

This same constitution goes on to direct: "Attendant etiam sacerdotes, ne lasciva nomina, quæ scilicet mox prolata sonent in lasciviam, imponi permittant parvulis baptizatis [*baptizandis*], sexus præcipue fœminini." Lyndwood observes upon this that the priest, and not the parents, has the power of deciding upon the name to be given to the child, if he objects to that which is proposed by them.[37]

I must observe that Wilkins in his edition of these constitutions, from a manuscript in the Cotton library, gives a different form; or rather a part of it: "Dicitur ergo sic a taliter baptizantibus: Ich cristin the in the faderes name," &c. But the old English translation of the provincial constitutions agrees with the form which Lyndwood supplies, as we might perhaps naturally expect it would. I shall extract however the entire sentence: "Let it thus be spoken of them that do baptyse. I chrysten the in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holy ghost, or otherwyse in the mother tong after the countrey custome."[38]

Although scarcely falling in strictness within the scope of the present subject, I would venture to make a brief remark upon a question of considerable importance, which twice in the present century came before the ecclesiastical court of the established church; namely, whether since the reformation lay

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taught by priests in French or English. *Concil.* tom. I. p. 582.

[37] Lib. 3. tit. 24, Circa sacramentum, *verb.* Sacerdotes.

[38] "Constitutions prouincialles, and of Otho, and Octhobone, translated in to Englyshe." Lond. Redman, 1534, 8vo. A most rare volume, and one the importance of which ought not to be overlooked by any future editor of Lyndwood.

baptism is to be held as valid or invalid. The question was decided, and so far as I am justified in forming an opinion about it, rightly decided in the affirmative, i.e. that lay baptism is recognised as valid by the reformed Church of England.[39] It is right to add that at one time I thought differently; and was the rather led to (what on further enquiry seemed to be) a wrong decision by the very able treatises written in the last century by Laurence, a nonjuror, entitled *Lay baptism invalid* and *Dissenters' baptism null and void.* These were republished in 1841. In a book upon the sacrament of baptism which I wrote in 1848 I entered at great length into the argument on both sides; and no one has (I believe) since disputed the conclusion which I arrived at: that lay baptism is valid.[40]

There can be no question or doubt whatever as to the validity of lay baptism according to the doctrine of the church of England from the time of archbishop Theodore, who was almost a contemporary of St. Augustine, down to the middle of the sixteenth century. The archbishop in his penitential first lays down the penalty for unnecessary administration of the sacrament: "Si quis baptizat pro temeritate, non ordinatus, abjiciendus extra ecclesiam, et nunquam ordinetur;" and immediately after he gives the rule: "omnibus fidelibus licet, ubi forte morituros invenerint non baptizatos, necessitate cogente, baptizare: immo præceptum est animas eripere a diabolo per baptismum."[41]

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[39] In the court of arches: Kemp *v.* Wickes, 1809; and Martin *v.* Escott, 1841.

[40] *Holy Baptism; a dissertation:* 1848, ch. ix. pp. 206–252.

[41] Cap. xxxviij. 4. Thorpe, *Ancient laws and institutes,* vol. 2.

In a succeeding chapter he says, "Mulier baptizare non præsumat, nisi cogente necessitate." Later councils decree to the same effect; and the opinion of the English canonists is unanimous. Lyndwood has been already quoted.[42] Hostiensis briefly decides, "necessitate etiam instante, quilibet vel quælibet potest baptizare."[43] And the *Pupilla oculi:* "in ardua necessitate quilibet homo, sive clericus sive laicus; baptizatus sive non baptizatus; hæreticus sive infidelis—potest baptizare. . . . Mutus non potest aliquem baptizare. Quod ideo est quia de essentia baptismi est certa forma verborum; quam mutus proferre non potest."[44]

The sacrament of confirmation[45] was no less forbidden to be repeated, than of baptism. A

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[42] Compare also lib. I. tit. 7, Quod in constitutione, and lib. iij. tit. 24, Baptisterium habeatur.

[43] *Summa*, lib. iij. rubr. xlij. 3.

[44] Pars 2. cap. ij. But I would venture again to refer the student to my book on holy baptism, where he will find these questions very fully discussed in chapters 7, 8, and 9.

As an example of the varieties of superstitious notions which existed in England in mediæval times about baptism, the following may be noted. I take it from a letter of Ralph Sadler to secretary Cromwell, asking him to be godfather to his son: "There is" (he says) "a certen superstycious opynyon and vsage among women, which is, that in case a woman go with childe she may chrysten no other mannes childe, as long as she is in that case: and therefore not knowing whether Mr. Rychard's wyf be with childe or not, I do name my lady Weston." *Orig. letters*, third ser. vol. 2. p. 226. It must be observed that the writer leaves it doubtful whether the objection applies to baptizing or to standing as godmother. The term "chrysten" is unusual (to say the least) as applied to the last of these.

[45] Commonly called in England before the reformation "bishoping." As in the princess Mary's household book, or privy purse expenses: "geuen to my lady Carowe's doughter, being my ladyes goddowghter at the byshoppyng, vj^{s}." p. 5. The

canon of the council of London A.D. 1200 directs: "De baptismate vel confirmatione, si dubitetur, sacrorum canonum statuta sequentes, statuimus, ut conferatur; quia non dicitur iteratum, quod non scitur fuisse collatum."[46] The penitential of archbishop Egbert proves how early this was insisted upon in the English church: "Si quis bis confirmatus sit, et hoc sciat, vij. annos jejunet; si nesciat, iij. annos jejunet."[47] So it was ordered in the year 1322 by a provincial constitution of Walter Reynold, "Item caveant sibi diligenter parentes, ne parvulos suos proferant iterato ad confirmandum." Because, says Lyndwood, "tria sunt sacramenta quæ iterari non debent, sc. baptismus, confirmatio et ordo."[48]

Confirmation was anciently conferred immediately or very shortly after baptism: and as numbers in the first century and in succeeding ages during the gradual progress of the gospel were adult when they were converted, confirmation was regarded as a completion and consummation, as it were, of the sacrament of baptism.[49] In many portions even of

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editor quotes also from a collection of poems of the early part of the fourteenth century:—

"Wanne the bisschop bisschopeth the,
Token of mark he set to the,
To sothe."

[46] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 505. See also *ibid.* p. 667, synod of Worcester, 1240.

[47] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 165.

[48] Lib. 1. tit. 7, Sacerdotes: "Unde versus: Fons, ordo, chrisma non cætera sunt iteranda."

[49] Baptism is a necessary preliminary to confirmation. "Sciendum" (says the author of the *Manipulus curatorum*) "quod caracter confirmationis præsupponit caracterem baptismi; quia nullus potest suscipere istud sacramentum nisi fuerit baptizatus." cap. vj.

The *Manipulus curatorum* was a book of authority in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

the west there is reason to suppose that this practice continued up to so late perhaps as the tenth century. We learn from Bede that in England about the beginning of the eighth century after the solemn seasons of baptism the bishop made a visitation of his diocese, for the purpose of confirming those who had been just before baptized. He tells us of St. Cuthbert, "Quadam autem die dum parochiam suam circumiens, monita salutis omnibus ruribus, casis, et viculis largiretur, necnon etiam nuper baptizatis ad accipiendam Spiritus sancti gratiam manum imponerit, devenit ad villulam cujusdam comitis," &c.[50]

In the thirteenth century we have more than one order, insisting upon the necessity of not delaying this rite of confirmation. One of the constitutions of the diocese of Worcester in 1240 gives the reason also: "Quia vero baptizato, quasi neophito, hoc est novo Christi militi, multiplex conflictus insurgit adversus principem tenebrarum, de quo legitur in Job, quod non est potestas super terram, quæ ei valeat comparari; necessarium est ei sacramentum confirmationis, quod ad robur fidelibus ecclesia censuit tribuendum. Unde præcipimus, quod sacerdotes parochiales subditos suos studiose moneant et

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It is not uncommon in manuscript, and was among the first books printed by Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde. Not so full, or going into such details of the canon law, as the *Pupilla oculi*, it nevertheless puts clearly and well the doctrine upon the sacraments which all parish priests were bound to know, in order that they might themselves be guided and enabled also to teach their people. The colophon of the copy now before me gives the name of the author: "Celeberrimi viri domini Guidonis de monte rocherii liber, qui manipulus curatorum inscribitur." 12mo. Pynson, 1500.

[50] *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. 29.

frequenter, quod parvulos suos faciant confirmari; sciantque patres et matres eorum, se post annum a nativitate pueri computandum ab ingressu ecclesiæ suspendendos, si infra annum, dum tamen episcopi copiam habuerint, vel transitus episcopi per loca in quibus habitant fuerit manifestus, eos ei non præsentaverint confirmandos."[51]

A few years before this, one of the diocesan canons of a synod held under Richard, bishop of Durham, had extended to a much greater length the period which might intervene: "quodsi ultra septem annos vel plus puer fuerit per negligentiam vel incuriam parentum non confirmatus, tam pater quam mater ab ingressu ecclesiæ tamdiu suspendantur, quousque puer confirmetur."[52] And, once more, the famous synod of Exeter in 1287 specifies a time between the two: "Statuimus, ut parvuli infra triennium a tempore ortus sui confirmationis recipiant sacramentum, dum tamen proprii vel alieni episcopi copia habeatur: alioquin parentes extunc qualibet sexta feria in pane et aqua jejunent, donec pueri confirmentur."[53]

I shall quote at length a canon of the council of Oxford, A.D. 1222; which enters into many particulars relating to this rite: "Sacerdotes frequenter moneant populum ad confirmationem prælatorum: post baptismum enim suscipi debere sacramentum confirmationis. Quodsi confirmandus fuerit adultus, monendus est per sacerdotem loci, ut

[51] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 667. And six years after to the same purpose, a synod of Chichester orders confirmation to be "infra annum." *Ibid.* p. 688.

[52] *Ibid.* p. 576.

[53] *Ibid.* tom. 2. p. 132.

confiteatur prius et postea confirmetur; veniat ad ecclesiam juvenis adultus confirmandus. Sæpe dicatur laicis, ne expectent diu ad confirmandum adventum episcopi, sed adducant pueros ad eum, ubi adesse audiverint prope, quam citius poterint, et ut fascias seu ligationes secum deferant competentes, sufficienter longas et latas. Item ut nullus puer teneatur ad confirmationem a patre aut matre, vitrico et noverca, et prohibeatur sæpe publice per sacerdotes in ecclesiis. Item caveant sibi diligenter parentes, ne parvulos suos iterato perferant ad confirmandum, cum et ipsi parvuli post sacramentum iteratum efficiantur irregulares, si masculi fuerint, et ipsi tali negligentia gravi secundum canones subjaceant ultioni. Sciant etiam parentes illi, qui pueros tenent ad confirmandum, quod spirituale vinculum in hoc sacramento quoque contrahitur, ut in baptismo. Item parvuli confirmati tertia die post confirmationem deportentur ad ecclesiam, et frontes eorum per manus sacerdotum in baptisterio,[54] propter reverentiam chrismatis, abluantur ibidem, et ligaturæ ipsorum tunc similiter igne crementur."[55]

The clause concerning irregularity in the above canon has reference to the after-taking of holy orders: which in case of iterated confirmation was

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[54] "in baptisterio." "i.e. loco in ecclesia, ubi fit baptismus. Non enim debes intelligere quod ista lavatio fiat in fonte baptismali, nec de aqua fontis, sed debet fieri in loco ubi scituatur fons, viz. juxta ipsam fontem." Lyndwood, lib. 1. tit. 6, Sacerdotes. On the other hand, there is a constitution, in the preceding century, of the diocese of Worcester: ". . . qui confirmati fuerint, post triduum portentur ad ecclesiam, in fonte baptismatis abluendi." *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 667.

[55] *Ibid.* tom. 1. p. 594. Cf. tom. 1. p. 657.

not permitted without a dispensation. Hence only males are named, for they only, it need scarcely be added, are capable of orders. The "*fasciæ seu ligationes*" were the same as the *chrismalia* of which I have spoken in a note to the office below (p. 41): and there is no greater proof of the very high antiquity in the church of England of the use of them than that which is furnished by the pontifical of Egbert of York in the eighth century. Martene[56] has printed the order as it is in that manuscript, which is still extant and preserved abroad: in it occurs the rubric "*modo ligandi sunt*," and followed by the same prayer (with a few verbal alterations) as that of the Sarum manual of the sixteenth century, "Deus, qui apostolis tuis." The chief variety of reading is, "respice propitius ad humilitatis nostræ famulatum:" which is followed also by the manuscript pontifical of Salisbury in the library of the university of Cambridge.[57]

As now in the ritual of the reformed church of England there is a rubric that "none shall be admitted to the holy communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed," so there were anciently canons in force to the same effect. For example, take one made under archbishop Peckham: "Contra negligentes confirmationis suscipere sacramentum statuimus, quod nullus ad sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini admittatur extra articulum mortis, nisi fuerit confirmatus, vel nisi a receptione confirmationis rationabiliter fuerit impeditus." Upon

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[56] *De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. I. p. 92.

[57] See above, p. cxxxvj.

Confirmationis in this statute Lyndwood's gloss is: "i.e. chrismationis in fronte: et fit per solos episcopos. Et est omnibus fidelibus necessaria. Et in hoc sacramento Spiritus sancti gratia augmentatur, ut confirmemur ad pugnam spiritualem. Et ideo in fronte, ut a recipiente fides Christi sine erubescentia prædicetur."[58]

In speaking of baptism I have already mentioned (p. cclij) that it was forbidden to give infants unseemly names: and the same canon there cited goes on to say: "si contrarium fiat, per confirmantes episcopos corrigatur:" i.e. as Lyndwood explains, "mutando nomen, et honestius nomen imponendo."[59] The reader will observe that in the order of confirmation the rubric runs (see p. 39) "*et tunc episcopus petat nomen, et ungat, &c. dicens:* Consigno te N. signo crucis," &c. And it was at this period of the office that he was informed of the name of the

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[58] Lib. 1. tit. 7, Confirmationis.

"Confermyng of bishop fasteneth in us when we beth cristened ye holy gost, and strengtheth us agenst ye mygt of ye fend." *Treatise on the creed*, Harleian MS. 45.

A short and good explanation according to the mediæval teaching is given in the *Doctrinal of Sapience*, printed by Caxton: "The second sacrament is confirmacion, the whiche some men calle cresmyng. Euery persone that hath vnderstondynge ought to receyue thys sacrament. For by this sacrament ben put in the soule of hym that receyueth it worthyly the seuen yeftes of the holy ghoost; by whyche he is armed ayenst the assaultes of the fende of helle. Alle they that haue not receyued thys sacrament and haue understandynge ben in perill to be overcomen of the fende of helle by dedely synne. Thys sacrament ought we not receyue but one tyme; yf ony knowe not yf he had receyued it or not, he myght wel receyue it. For the thyng is not understonde to be doo agayn, whan that he knoweth not whether it be doon or not." Cap. lix.

[59] Lib. 3. tit. 24, Circa sacramentum, *verb.* corrigatur.

candidate, and had the power of giving a new name if the old one was objectionable.

This is a point upon which I would venture to make an observation as to the present practice of the Church of England, and the authority which in this respect her bishops have. Lord Coke says: "If a man be baptized by the name of Thomas, and after, at his confirmation by the bishop, he is named John, his name of confirmation shall stand good. And this was the case of Sir Francis Gawdie, chief justice of the court of common pleas, whose name by baptism was Thomas, and his name of confirmation Francis: and that name of Francis, by the advice of all the judges, he did bear, and afterwards used in all his purchases and grants."[60]

Now Burn, in his *Ecclesiastical law*, observes upon this case of Sir Francis Gawdie, and against Lord Coke: "But this seemeth to be altered by the form of the present liturgy. In the offices of old, the bishop pronounced the name of the child or person confirmed by him, and if he did not approve of the name, or the person himself or his friends desired it to be altered, it might be done by the bishop's pronouncing a new name upon his ministering this rite, and the common law allowed the alteration; but upon review of the liturgy at king Charles the second's restoration, the office of confirmation is altered as to this point, for now the bishop doth not pronounce the name of the person confirmed, and therefore cannot alter it."

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[60] 1. *Inst.* 3. Cited in Burn's *Eccl. law*, vol. 2. p. 10. Some account of the wretched end of this judge may be seen in Spelman's *History of sacrilege*, p. 187, edit. 1846.

Dr. Burn's work upon the ecclesiastical law is of such high authority that only with some hesitation I make any remarks in opposition to him; and yet it seems scarcely right to pass by the argument of the passage which has just been quoted. The argument appears to be erroneous, because it supposes (through some mistake which I am at a loss to account for and which is left uncorrected in the last edition) that during the reigns of Elizabeth, and James, and Charles the first the old practice was still retained of addressing each person by name who was brought to be confirmed. But this practice had been discontinued for more than one hundred years before 1662: having been left out, together with the use of the sign of the cross, at the revision of the common Prayer book in the year 1552. Therefore I suppose that for the same reasons that the judges all advised the name given at confirmation to be retained in the case quoted by Lord Coke, they would now advise a like course under similar circumstances. Dr. Burn's conclusion that because the bishop according to the present book of common Prayer *does not*, he therefore *cannot* if he sees a just reason pronounce the name at confirmation, also seems to have no weight. It is clear that such was not the view of the bishops or judges in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and there is no more reason why it should be so now.[61]

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[61] There seems no reason to suppose that the rule laid down by a bishop of Peterborough, early in Elizabeth's reign, was not generally observed. It is to be found—apparently in answer to some question on the point—in a letter in the British museum: "I may not change usuall or comon names, but onlie strange

I happen to possess [1846][62] a common Prayer book (4to. 1702), interleaved, and filled with manuscript notes and observations by bishop White Kennett. He gives a case, since 1662, very much to the point in question. "Confirmation. mem. On Sunday, Dec. 21, 1707, the Ld. Bp. of Lincoln confirmed a young lad in Hen. vij. chapel: who upon that ceremony was to change his Xtian name: and accordingly the sponsor who presented him, delivered to the Bp. a certificate wh. his Ldship signed, to notify that he had confirmed such a person by such a name, and did order the parish minister then present to register the person in the parish book under that name. This was done by the opinion under hand of Sir Edward Northey, and the like opinion of Ld. Ch. Justice Holt, founded on the authority of Sir Edwd. Coke, who says it was the common law of England, by which he meant the common custom of the Roman Church: where it was more reasonable: because the Bp. reciting the name, might so express a new name, and confirmation being thought a sacrament, might sanctify a new name." Now, whatever the value of White Kennett's last observation may be, his assumption that Lord Coke meant one thing when he said another is worthless, because it is gratuitous: the fact remains; and with the fact the

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and not comon; and further, if the name be changed at confirmacon, it taketh effect but from confirmacon." Signed "Edmund Petriburg." Landsdown MS. vj. fol. 127. The writer was bishop Scamler: and he could not but have known perfectly the law and practice of the English church at the end of the reign of Henry the eighth, and that no alteration, so far, had yet been made.

[62] Now in the British museum.

united opinion of Sir Edward Northey and the Lord chief justice.

I am bound to remark further, that in the case given by Lord Coke (not knowing the circumstances, we cannot argue from the later one of White Kennett) the bishop appears to have exceeded the authority which the ancient canon law would have allowed him. That law permitted a name which had been given in baptism to be changed, only if it was improper or objectionable: "Attendant sacerdotes, ne lasciva nomina imponi permittant parvulis: et si contrarium fiat, per confirmantes episcopos corrigatur." But to change *Thomas* into *Francis* could only have arisen from some trivial preference for another name; and such alone ought never to be allowed as a just reason for casting aside utterly and for ever a first name in itself good and proper, which had been "sanctified," as bishop Kennett says, in the administration of the sacrament of baptism.

That marriage should be in public and accompanied by the benediction of the Church has always been held necessary to the well-being of those who intend to live in the estate of matrimony: and from the first years when the Saxons were converted to the faith, the attention of the church of England has been carefully directed to the due solemnisation of this holy rite, and to the prevention of those evils which are certain to follow the contempt, or the neglect, or the evasion of it. Many regulations and orders to this effect during the Anglo-saxon age, beginning from St. Gregory's answers to St. Augustine of Canterbury and the constitutions "de nuptiis" in 644, up to the con-

quest, might easily be collected from Wilkins and from Thorpe's ecclesiastical laws: but I shall pass on to some canons which were made in the succeeding centuries.

In the year 1200 it was decreed at the council of London upon the important question, much more important to the people of England then than now: "*Quales personæ debeant contrahere matrimonium.* Vir non contrahat cum aliqua consanguinea olim uxoris suæ, similiter nec uxor cum aliquo consanguineo quondam viri sui. Et susceptus in baptismo non contrahat cum filia baptizantis vel suscipientis, ante, vel post genita."[63] I shall not extract further regulations which limit the degrees within which marriage was to be allowed, for they scarcely fall within the object of these remarks: and I fear also it must be confessed that they were made, as time went on, more and more both in strictness and number, that dispensations might be also the more numerous and the revenues of the clergy increased.

But the same canon just cited further orders: "Nec contrahatur aliquod matrimonium sine trina denunciatione publica in ecclesia, neque si fuerint personæ incognitæ. Sed nec copulentur aliquæ personæ matrimonio, nisi publice in facie ecclesiæ et præsente sacerdote. Et si secus factum fuerit, non admittantur alicubi in ecclesia nisi speciali auctoritate episcopi." This canon explains another, more briefly expressed by a council under archbishop Richard, in 1173: "Non occulta fiant matrimonia, sed palam in facie ecclesiæ."[64]

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[63] Wilkins, tom. I. p. 507.

[64] *Ibid.* p. 474; cf. p. 478, where we have the addition, "si quis sacerdos aliquos occulte

A few years later, a council at Durham forbad irreverence at marriages: having explained the dignity and worthiness of the state of matrimony, it proceeds: "propter hoc præcipimus, quod matrimonia cum honore celebrentur, et cum reverentia, et non cum risu, non joco, non in tabernis, potationibusque publicis, seu commessationibus." In the next canon of this council we find for the first time the record of the necessity of the contract which was to be expressed by word of mouth between the parties: "*De forma matrimonii contrahendi.* Item præcipimus, quod sacerdotes præcipiant et doceant personas contrahentes hanc formam verborum in Gallico vel Anglico: 'Ego accipio te *N.* in meam.' Similiter et mulier dicat: 'Ego accipio te N. in meum.' In his enim verbis consistit vis magna, et matrimonium contrahitur."[65] I do not mean that we are to conclude that some such form was not usual before this council, although certainly there is no trace of it in any ritual which I have seen of an earlier date.

I pass over numerous canons to the same effect and as to the necessity of banns being published,[66]

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conjunxisse inventus fuerit, triennio ab officio suspendatur." A canon of the diocese of Salisbury in 1256 requires witnesses at a marriage, as well as the officiating priest. *Ibid.* p. 718.

[65] Wilkins, tom. I. p. 582.

[66] The following is the form of certificate appointed in the Sarum manuals: "*Forma literæ testimonialis bannorum proclamatorum pro matrimonio contrahendo.* Universis præsentes literas inspecturis, curatus ecclesiæ parochialis de *N.* diœcesis—curato de *N.* ejusdem diœcesis salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod Richardus *N.* parochianus noster non est in registris nostris aliqua excommunicationis sententia innodatus. Nec scimus in eo aliquod impedimentum canonicum propter quod ecclesiastica sacramenta sibi debeant

which occur in the intermediate time, until the provincial constitution of Walter Raynold in 1322: upon which Lyndwood comments: "Matrimonium, similiter et alia sacramenta cum honore et reverentia, de die in facie ecclesiæ, non tamen risu et joco, et derisu ac contemptu celebretur. In matrimonio contrahendo semper in tribus dominicis, vel festivis diebus, et a se distantibus, tribus edictis perquirat sacerdos a populo sub pœna excommunicationis, de legitimatione sponsi et sponsæ. Si quis autem sacerdos hujusmodi edictum non observaverit, pœnam nuper in concilio super hoc statutam non evadet."[67] Among other points which he notices in this canon Lyndwood tells us the distinction which there is between espousals and matrimony: "Sunt enim *sponsalia* repromissio futurarum nuptiarum: sed *nuptiæ* sive *matrimonium* est viri mulierisque conjunctio individuam vitæ consuetudinem retinens." He continues: "*In facie ecclesiæ.* i.e. conspectu ecclesiæ populi sc. congregati in ecclesia." "*Semper.* i.e. omni tempore, et inter quoscunque matrimonium sit contrahendum." "*Dominicis.* Ubi videlicet nulli sunt dies festivi inter-

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denegari, seu etiam retardari. Insuper tria banna per tres dies dominicos, sive festivos solennes, ad solemnizationem matrimonii futuri de ipso cum Margareta *N.* in ecclesia nostra prædicta, palam et publice proclamavimus seu proclamari fecimus; quibus nullus se opposuit seu contradixit. Rogamus igitur discretionem vestram, quatenus dictum *N.* parochianum nostrum cum Margareta *N.* parochiana vestra per verba de præsenti, in ecclesia vestra, vel matrimonialiter copuletis: nisi quod ex parte vestra sit aliquod aliud impedimentum quod obsistat. Et hæc omnibus quorum interest aut interesse poterit in futurum tenore præsentium certificamus. Datum sub sigillo ecclesiæ nostræ præfatæ. Anno *N.* die *N.* mensis *N.*"

[67] Wilkins, tom. 2. p. 513.

medii." "*Vel festivis.* Inter quos etiam numerari potest dies dominicus, si sic occurrat. Vel potest intelligi, quando in una hebdomada a dominica in dominicam tres occurrunt dies festivi." "*A se distantibus.* Ad minus ut videtur uno die intermedio. Et facit ad hoc quod legitur et notatur *de sent. excommuni. c. constitutionem. li.* 6. Sed puto quod si tres dies festivi successivi concurrant sicut contingit in hebdomada paschæ et penthecostes sufficit, quod singulis trium dierum hujusmodi banna edantur: *distare* namque idem est quod *differre* vel *remotum esse.* Cum itaque tres dies successive festivales differant adinvicem, sic quod unus dies non est reliquus, sufficit si in quolibet illorum dierum banna hujusmodi proclamentur: non tamen possunt expediri, sic quod trina vel bina vice proclamentur in una die, ut hic innuitur." "*Immunitate.* Id est, libertate, hoc est, an sint liberi ad contrahendum." "*Statutam.* Hæc pœna est suspensionis per triennium ab officio."[68]

A few years after, in the year 1328, a constitution of archbishop Simon Mepham was published which I shall also extract, as it enters into the penalties which were imposed upon priests who celebrated marriages irregularly: "Omnibus et singulis suffraganeis nostris præcipimus statuendo, quod decretalem, *cum inhibitio*, exponi faciant in vulgari, et eam firmiter observari, quibusvis sacerdotibus etiam non parochialibus, qui contractibus matrimonialibus ante solemnem editionem bannorum initis præsumpserint interesse, pœnam suspensionis ab officio per triennium infligendo, et hujusmodi contrahentes,

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[68] Lib. 4. tit. 1, Matrimonium.

etiamsi nullum subsit impedimentum pœna debita percellendo. Quivis etiam sacerdos, sive sæcularis sive regularis extiterit, qui solemnizationem matrimonii extra ecclesiam parochialem absque episcopi diocesani speciali licentia celebrare præsumpserit, aut eidem interesse, per annum integrum ab officio sit suspensus."[69]

CHAPTER II.

THERE are almost innumerable canons and orders which relate to the visitation and communion of the sick and extreme unction. It will be, I hope, sufficient to select a few only of these, which seem to be the most interesting or important; from the Anglo-saxon age down to the time of Lyndwood in the fifteenth century.

Some chapters of archbishop Theodore's penitential are directed to the communion and visitation of the sick. The forty-first for example: after speaking of the penance imposed before reconciliation of penitents it adds: "Si vero periculum mortis, propter aliquam infirmitatem, incurrerint, ante constitutum tempus reconciliari eos oportet, ne forte, quod absit, sine communione ab hoc sæculo discedant." And again, in the fourth section of the same chapter, the like indulgence is to be granted even to those who had not previously begun a course of repentance: "Si quis non pœnitet, et forsitan cæciderit

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[69] Wilkins, tom. 2. p. 554. See also the account of complaints preferred, and the plan adopted in consequence by the convocation of 1460; *Conc.* tom. 3. p. 579. § 8.

in ægritudinem, et quæsierit communicare, non prohibeatur, sed date ei sanctam communionem, ita tamen ut omnia sit ante confessus: et mandate illi, ut, si placuerit Dei misericordiæ ut evaserit de ipsa ægritudine, mores suos et actus, in quibus antea deliquit, omnino corrigere debeat, cum pœnitentia."[70] With this the student may compare also the forty-ninth and fiftieth chapters of the same penitential.

The twenty-first and twenty-second of the excerpts of archbishop Egbert order that the parish priest should be at all times ready to visit, and communicate, and anoint the sick: "xxi. Ut secundum definitionem sanctorum patrum, si quis infirmatur, a sacerdotibus oleo sanctificato cum orationibus diligenter ungatur. xxii. Ut presbyter eucharistiam habeat semper paratam ad infirmos, ne sine communione moriantur."[71] In the year 960 the famous canons were enacted under king Edgar: of which the thirty-eighth and sixty-fifth order every priest "to have housel always ready," and "to give housel to the sick, when they need it:" and the next: "we enjoin, that every priest have unction for the sick."[72] That is, the consecrated oil: which was ordered to be kept distinct from the oil which was used at baptisms.[73]

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[70] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 49.

[71] Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 103; Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 100.

[72] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 259.

[73] "Tria sunt sacra olea, catechumenorum scilicet, infirmorum, et chrismatis, et hujus præ illis constitutionem intrat etiam balsamum judaicum sit, vel indicum. Catechumenorum oleum ecclesia adhibet in benedictione fontis baptismalis, administratione baptismi, consecratione ecclesiæ, altaris fixi atque portatilis, ordinatione presbyteri, et in benedictione et coronatione regum, et reginarum. Utitur sacro chrismate in benedictione fontis bap-

The synod of Exeter, in 1287, specifies the penalty upon neglect of these orders: "Quodsi quendam juvenem vel senem culpa, negligentia, vel absentia sui sacerdotis (quod absit) absque baptismo, confessione, dominici corporis perceptione, ac extrema unctione præveniri morte contigerit, sacerdos super hoc convictus, a celebratione divinorum protinus suspendatur; cujus suspensio minime relaxetur, donec tam grande crimen pœnitentia condigna meruerit expiari."[74]

The canons of Ælfric are of importance: they direct that "the priest shall housel the sick and infirm, while the sick can swallow the housel; and he shall not administer it if he be half-living, because Christ commanded that the housel should be eaten." Again: "The priest shall have hallowed oil apart for children, and apart for sick men, and always anoint the sick in bed. Some sick men are fearful, so that they will not consent to be anointed in their sickness."[75] And the archbishop proceeds to cite the injunction of St. James the apostle.

Johnson published of course this last canon in his collection of ecclesiastical laws; but he makes an unfair reference to it in his index, by which he would lead his reader to conclude that the English in that age disliked or disapproved of the rite of extreme unction. His words are "English people

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tismalis, administratione sacramentorum baptismi et confirmationis, consecratione electi in episcopum, patenæ, et calicis, et in campanarum benedictione. Infirmorum olei parcior usus est, in sola nempe administratione sacramenti extremæ unctionis, et benedictione campanarum." Cavalieri, *Opera*, tom. 4. p. 262. Cf. the chapter in Schmalzgrueber, *Jus ecclesiastic.* tit. xv. De sacra unctione.

[74] Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 135.

[75] *Thorpe*, vol. 2. p. 355.

averse to it." But such is very far indeed from the real meaning of this canon: which alludes only to the fear which sick people had that if they were anointed during sickness their case was hopeless, and they must die. Much in the same way as now: people foolishly put off making their wills from the same notion; or wickedly as well as foolishly defer and defer the receiving of the holy communion. We shall presently find other canons relating to this point. And even as regarded the communion these errors also prevailed a thousand years ago; as we learn from an epistle of the same Ælfric: "Some sick are so foolish that they fear that they will die immediately, because of the housel; but we say in sooth, that he will not die in consequence, though he every day receive the housel."

This epistle of Ælfric is entitled "Quando dividis chrisma," and appears to have been a charge delivered to the assembled priests of his diocese upon the solemn annual occasion of consecrating oil. The beginning is: "O ye mass-priests, my brothers, we will now say to you what we have not before said, because to-day we are to divide our oil, hallowed in three ways, as the book points out to us," i.e. the pontifical, "viz. oleum sanctum, et oleum chrismatis, et oleum infirmorum; that is in English, holy oil, the second is chrism, and sick men's oil [halıᵹ ele· oþeꞃ ıꞅ cꞃıꞅma· ⁊ ꞅeoccꞃa manna ele]: and ye ought to have three flasks ready for the three oils, for we dare not put them together in one oil vessel, because each of them is hallowed apart for a particular service."[76]

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[76] *Thorpe*, vol. 2. p. 391.

The sacrament of the eucharist thus administered to the sick was called Viaticum. Ducange in his glossary gives many examples of the early use of this term, so applied; to which two or three may be added from English authorities, reaching up to the century in which the Anglo-saxon conversion took place. Bede writes: "primum expectare habes donec missæ celebrentur, ac viatico Dominici corporis ac sanguinis accepto, sic infirmitate simul et morte absolutus ad æterna in cœlis gaudia subleveris."[77] Again the same writer, describing the last hours of St. Benedict abbot of Wearmouth, says: "Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum, hora exitus instante, pro viatico datur."[78] And once more, from the excerpts of his contemporary Egbert: "Ut cuncti sacerdotes . . . . omnibus infirmis ante exitum vitæ viaticum et communionem corporis Christi misericorditer tribuant."[79]

The origin of this name is, of course, to be traced to the thirteenth canon of the council of Nice, so often referred to in the Anglo-saxon decrees upon matters relating to the communion of the sick;[80]

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77 Beda, *Hist. eccl.* lib. 4. cap. 14. 293 (A.D. 681).

78 Beda, *Vita S. Benedicti*, Opera min. p. 153.

79 Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. I. p. 102.

80 Albaspinæus, I must remark, argues that the Nicene fathers did not intend in that canon the eucharist, but reconciliation. His remarks should be consulted, *Observat.* lib. I. cap. I. One thing is certain, that in that early age viaticum not only meant the eucharist, but also sometimes baptism, or confirmation, or extreme unction; and that the eucharist especially was so called, as being "tutissimum, absolutissimum, et potentissimum viaticum."

But the older scholiasts refer the viaticum (as usually it is taken) to the eucharist only. Thus Balsamon: "Hic est canon generalis. Jubet enim, omnem

and through that, which refers to the "ancient and regular law," to the first periods of the Christian faith. From an early canon cited by Mabillon we may discover the reason why the last communion was so called: "Quia nefas est eorum commemorationes excludi a salutaribus sacris, qui ad eadem sacra fideli affectu contendentes, dum se diutius reos statuunt, indignos salutiferis mysteriis judicant: ac dum purgatiores restitui desiderant, absque sacramentorum viatico intercipiuntur;" therefore, continues the canon, oblations after death might be received for them.[81] So necessary was this viaticum held to be that in the seventh century it was not to be denied to those who had committed the greatest crimes, if they were under penance; there are decrees that some "toto vitæ tempore corpus Dominicum non suscipiant nisi in suo exitu pro viatico."[82]

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cui pœna imposita est, et sacramentis est privatus, præclaro sanctæ communionis viatico non privari in extremo spiritu, cum examinatione episcopi. Si non sit autem episcopus, cum examinatione sacerdotum, ne bono viatico privetur homo ob episcopi absentiam." Beverege, *Pandect. can.* tom. I. p. 74. See also Zonaras and Aristenus, in the same place.

[81] Concil. Vasense, A.D. 442.

[82] Mabillon, *De lit. Gallic.* p. 85. There can be little doubt that errors and superstitions as to the benefit of the viaticum grew with the stringent orders having reference to its administration, and the natural desire of people to obey those orders. No better illustrations can be given of these than in the stories which we find in mediæval manuscripts or books of the sixteenth century intended for common reference or popular reading; such (for example) as the odd miscellany called *Arnold's chronicle.* We there read that "ther was a man in Paris, a yonge man, that ȝaf all to lecchery and to other dyuers synnes, and ther fil vpon him a gret feruent sykenesse, and anon he was shreuen, and wepte his synnes and bethught him that he wolde amend his lif, but yt was a feynt

It was in consequence of the necessity for all men if possible to receive the viaticum that orders were made that priests should even carry about with them the consecrated eucharist, to administer it upon sudden occasions: "Ut presbyteri sine sacro chrismate, oleoque benedicto, et salubri Christi eucharistia alicubi non proficiscantur; sed ubicunque vel fortuitu requisiti fuerint ad officium suum, inveniantur parati in reddendo debitu."[83] It is not probable that this custom continued for any long period in the church of England, although it is certain as regards chrism that it was observed for a time; for the forty-third of the canons of Egbert is, "Ut nullus presbyter sine chrismate proficiscatur." We find a bishop of Dublin in the twelfth century carrying the eucharist with him upon a journey, "sicut tunc moris erat pluribus."[84] But a journey in those days may have occupied a long time; and other reasons might also be suggested.

The reader must remember that not every communion administered during sickness was called viaticum; but that one only which was given when there appeared to be no reasonable hope that the sick man would continue long alive, or be able again to receive; hence, ritualists make a distinction be-

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bihest as ye shulen here hereafter. He was howsled and anelid and soo died, and a fewe daies after he apiered to one of his seruantis and seid y^t he was dampned, for he had will if he myght haue lyued to haue to his synne ageyn; therfore alle my confession and all that I did ressauyng my sacraments it auayled me not." fol. lxxxiiij. *b.* See also a very curious story in Matthew Paris, *Hist. Anglic.* p. 6.

[83] *Lib. capitular.* lib. 6. cap. 176.

[84] Surius, *Vita S. Laurentii Dublinensis*, November 14.

tween the communion given "causa devotionis" and "per modum viatici."[85] Many rituals differ in the form with which it is to be delivered: in the first case the priest says in the ordinary way, "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen;" in the other, "Accipe viaticum corporis Domini," &c. It was in this respect that according to the Sarum use, as may be seen below, the priest thus comforted the dying man: "Surge ergo, ut lotus lachrymis contritionis comedere valeas panem vitæ: hoc est, sacramentum corporis Christi, quod erit tibi in via hac qua gradieris robur et fulcimentum; et ambulabis per Dei gratiam in fortitudine cibi illius usque ad montem Dei."

The old histories and chronicles are full of proofs of the firm belief by all of the necessity of the viaticum.[86] But still it was never understood nor taught that mere reception of the holy eucharist, on a death-bed, was alone sufficient to secure salvation.

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[85] The later rule of putting the viaticum into the mouth was not of obligation in England in the eighth century. The account of the death of the famous Cædmon is given by Bede: "Interrogavit, si eucharistiam intus haberent. Respondebant, quid opus est eucharistia? rursus ille, et tamen, ait, afferte mihi eucharistiam. Qua accepta in manu, interrogavit," &c. *Hist. eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 24. This communion is spoken of immediately afterwards as "viaticum."

We have an example of the use of the term "viaticum" as applied to the easter communion in one of the constitutions of Othobon. Speaking of criminous priests, it decrees, "nec eis paschali tempore viaticum tribuatur." Tit. viij. A canon of the provincial council under archbishop Peckham in 1281 speaks of our blessed Lord, "qui infinito amore se in viaticum dedit ecclesiæ." *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 52.

[86] For example, see Matthew Paris, pp. 6, 156, 183, 306, 503.

During pestilence, permission was sometimes granted to receive the viaticum at the hands of a deacon; but not extreme unction: "sacramentum eucharistiæ in absentia presbyteri poterit per diaconum ministrari. Si vero non sit presbyter, qui sacramentum unctionis extremæ ministret, debet, sicut in aliis, fides sufficere sacramenti."[87]

The light, so frequently ordered in earlier times, was forbidden in 1549: "Item, that going to the sick with the sacrament the minister have not with him either light or bells." But in the reign of queen Mary the old rules were enjoined once more, as appears from one of cardinal Pole's visitation articles, of 1557: "Whether the sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, and with a little sacring bell?"[88]

At the administration of the communion to the sick a candle was to be always lighted, according to some constitutions of the diocese of Sodor in 1291. This rule was (I have little doubt) generally observed, and we have frequent evidence of it in the illuminations of manuscripts: "Cum ad infirmos accesserint, moneant eos salubriter, nec aliquos sine candela accensa de cera communicet."[89]

Clergy whilst carrying the holy eucharist to the sick were privileged from arrest; and an infringement of this formed one of the grievances of the convocation of 1399.[90] Foreign canonists have extended this privilege so far as to assert that other

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[87] *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 746. See below, p. 112.

[88] *Ibid.* tom. 4. pp. 33, 170. Compare the twelfth decree of Pole's *Reformatio Angliæ.*

[89] *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 175.

[90] *Ibid.* tom. 3. p. 245.

persons might avail themselves of the protection of such a procession: "sacerdos eucharistiam deferens ad se confugientibus asylum præstat."[91]

We have still to remember some other matters connected with the office of the visitation of the sick. The twenty-third of the constitutions or statutes of Lanfranc is "De ægrotantibus morti proximis:"[92] this contains many directions, chiefly relating to the unction; and which may be more properly extracted presently. I pass on therefore to a canon of the synod of Westminster, A. D. 1138: "2. Sancimus etiam, ut ultra octo dies corpus Christi non reservetur;[93] neque ad infirmos, nisi per sacerdotem, aut

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[91] Devoti, *Instit. canon.* tom 2. p. 333; Ferrarius, *Bibliotheca, verb.* Immunitas; Giraldus, *Expositio juris pontif.* 1. § 637. The general decision is against any such claim. "Immunitas" (says Schmalzgrueber) "concessa est ecclesiæ, et locis sacris. Privilegia non debent trahi in consequentiam; alias multo magis communicans, et intra os recipiens eucharistiam immunitate gauderet; quod nemo dixerit." *Jus eccles.* pars 5. tit. xlix.

[92] *Opera*, p. 293.

[93] "Observent etiam sacerdotes cum omni diligentia, ne sacra eucharistia per vasis vitium aut diutinam conservationem contraxerit humiditatem seu humorem; unde reddatur vel turpis aspectu vel gustui abominabilis." Canon of the diocese of Ely, 1364; *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 59.

It cannot be out of the way to make a quotation from Mabillon, with reference to the ancient practice, as to the place of reservation, in Rome itself: "Antiquior modus is esse videtur, ut in secretario seu sacristia servaretur: quo ex loco pontifici ad altare accedenti capsula eucharistiam continens præferebatur. Alius modus est, ut eucharistia servetur in altari seu principe, seu peculiari, qui posterior ritus hodie passim in urbe viget.

"Tertius modus, qui in sola sanctæ crucis basilica obtinet, id est, quod eucharistia pone majus altare ad summum basilicæ parietem, absque ara supposita servatur in vasculo patente, adjectis loco ornamentis." *Mus. Ital.* tom. 2. p. cxxxix.

per diaconum, aut, necessitate instante, per quemlibet cum summa reverentia deferatur."[94] Towards the end of the same century, in the year 1195, we find a canon of the council of York to the same purpose, with further circumstances: "2. Quoties autem communio exhibenda est infirmis, sacerdos in propria persona hostiam in habitu clericali, tanto sacramento convenienti, deferat, lumine præcedente, nisi aeris intemperies, vel viarum difficultas, vel alia ratio præpediat."[95] In the year 1220 other particulars are entered into and orders made by a synod at Durham: "His adjicimus, quod cum eucharistia ad ægrum fuerit deferenda, habeat sacerdos pyxidem mundam et honestam, ita scilicet quod una semper in ecclesia remaneat, et in alia, in qua sit eucharistia in bursa posita mundissima, in ea deferat corpus Dominicum ad ægrotum, linteo mundo superposito, et lucerna præcedente, nisi æger valde remotus fuerit, et cruce similiter, si fieri potest, nisi crux fuerit ad alium ægrotum deportata. Præcedente quoque tintinnabulo, ad cujus sonitum concitetur devotio fidelium. Habeatque secum semper sacerdos horarium seu stolam, quando cum eucharistia, sicut diximus, vadit ad ægrotum. Et si æger non remotus fuerit, in superpellicio decenter ad eum vadat, habeatque vas argenteum sive stanneum, ad hoc specialiter deputatum, quod semper ad ægrotum deferat; ut in eo ægro dare valeat post sumptam eucharistiam suorum loturam digitorum."[96] In a provincial constitution of archbishop Langton the "devotio fidelium" is further explained: "Frequenter

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[94] Wilkins, tom. I. p. 415. [95] *Ibid.* p. 501.
[96] *Ibid.* p. 579.

moneantur laici, ut ubicunque videant corpus Domini deferri, statim genua flectant tanquam creatori et redemptori suo, et junctis manibus, quousque transierit, orent humiliter."[97]

We must pass by many canons of various councils to a similar purpose with the above; quoting only two articles of enquiry in the diocese of Lincoln, A.D. 1230: "2. An sacramentum eucharistiæ portetur ad infirmos cum debita reverentia, et, sicut decet, custodiatur? 33. An aliquis sacerdos sit desidiosus ad visitandum infirmos?"[98] And a synodal of the diocese of Norwich, A. D. 1257, which mentions one circumstance not before noted: "Idemque fidelis faciat (sc. se reverenter inclinet) cum hostiam presbyter ad infirmum quendam in decenti habitu, supposito mundo velamine, ferat et referat manifeste ac honorifice ante pectus cum reverentia et timore."[99]

I shall extract, lastly, a provincial constitution of archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1279; with some portion of the gloss of Lyndwood:—

"Statuimus, ut sacramentum eucharistiæ circumferatur cum debita reverentia ad ægrotos, sacerdote saltem induto superpellicio,[1] gerente orarium cum

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[97] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 595. To the same effect as these canons, see pp. 637, 657, and 704; tom. 2. pp. 133 and 294.

[98] *Ibid.* p. 627. Compare with the last enquiry a constitution of Walter de Kirkham, bishop of Durham, in the thirteenth century: "Sacerdotes autem prompti et paratissimi sint, non solum diebus, sed etiam noctibus, ut ægrotantes, cum requiruntur, visitent; ne per eorum negligentiam moriatur infirmus sine confessione, et Dominici corporis communione, vel extrema unctione;" p. 705. And again, tom. 3. p. 59.

[99] *Ibid.* p. 732.

[1] This was the vestment which, at least, was always to

lumine prævio in lucerna cum campana, ut populus ad reverentiam debitam excitetur, qui ad prosternendum se, vel adorandum saltem humiliter informetur sacerdotali prudentia, ubicunque regem gloriæ sub panis latibulo evenerit deportari." "*Saltem:* i. e. ad minus: et sic tolerari potest, licet minister sacerdotis non sit indutus superpellicio, licet honestius sit quod et ipsius minister superpellicio induatur, considerata qualitate beneficii et facultatibus ejusdem." "*Orarium:* i. e. stolam, qua sacerdos in omni obsequio divino uti debet, et suo collo imponitur, ut significet se jugum Domini suscepisse." "*Lumine prævio.* Ratio est, quia est candor lucis æternæ, et non præcedit lumen ad fugandum tenebras, sed ratione prædicta, *extra. de celebr. miss.* ubi etiam statuitur, quod sacerdos eucharistiam reverenter gerat ante pectus suum, et quod tabernaculum, in quo portatur, operiatur mundo velamine. Et ex his apparet, quod lumen, de quo hic loquitur, portari debet per ministrum; nam lumen præcedere debet. Si tamen contigerit casus necessitatis, sic quod presbyter nullum ministrum habere posset paratum ad deferendum lumen, puto quod non esset inconveniens, ut presbyter lucernam cum lumine ad unum de suis brachiis suspensum gestaret, et campanam, modo quo posset

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be worn; but it would seem from an extract given by Dr. Oliver from the register of Newenham abbey, that if the viaticum was carried to the sick immediately after mass, the chasuble might be worn. The register is recording the death of Reginald de Mohun, the founder of the abbey. The priest in attendance on the dying man "went to the church to say mass. Mass being over, he returned in his priestly vestments, bringing with him the viaticum." *Eccles. antiq. of Devon*, vol. I. p. 207. I am disposed to think that Dr. Oliver has somewhat loosely translated the original.

meliori, pulsaret. Sic enim faciunt presbyteri in amplis parochiis, quando transeunt ad infirmos in locis remotis existentes: qui quandoque equitantes lucernam cum campana applicant collo equi, et in hoc non sunt reprehendendi, quia necessitas non habet legem." "*Lucerna.* Ne scilicet lumen vento vel pluvia extinguatur." *Campana.* Scias tamen, quod si sacerdos revertatur vacuus sine hostia, debet extinguere lumen, et facere quod non pulsetur campanula, ne populus adorando committeret idololatriam." "*Adorandum.* Cum inclinatione capitis, et cordis devotione, et manuum expansione, sive etiam elevatione, cum orationis devotæ vocali expressione. . . . . Ego soleo sic dicere; 'Ave, verum corpus, natum ex Maria virgine. Vere passum, immolatum, in cruce pro homine. Cujus latus vulneratum, vero fluxit sanguine. Esto nobis prægustatum, mortis in examine. O dulcis, o pie, o Jesu, fili Mariæ.'"[2]

Although extreme unction has been spoken of in citing the canons which relate generally to the visitation of the sick, yet there remain some others which I am not willing to omit altogether, referring more especially to this sacrament. The twenty-first of the excerpts of Egbert has been quoted already (p. cclxx), and the same archbishop, in his penitential, explains the reason why extreme unction was held to be necessary: "Hic docet sanctus Jacobus, quod si quis infirmatus sit ut vocet ad se sacerdotem suum, et alios Dei servos, ut super eum legant, et infirmus necessitatem suam ipsis dicat, et illi eum ungant in Dei nomine sancto oleo, et per fidelium illorum preces, et per unctionem conservari

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[2] Lyndwood, lib. 3. tit. 26, Dignissimum.

possit, et Dominus eum suscitet, et si peccata commiserit, illa ei remittantur: ideo fidelis quisque, si possit, unctionem obtinere debet, et ritus qui ad eam pertinent; quoniam scriptum est, quod quicunque hos ritus habuerit, anima ejus æque pura sit, post obitum suum, atque infantis, qui statim post baptisma moritur."[3] Ælfric, some centuries after, speaks much to the same purpose in his pastoral epistle: "If the sick layman desire to receive unction let him then confess him, and forgive every grudge, before the unction: and if he recover and, after the unction, become hale, he may, unless he have vowed the contrary, enjoy the society of woman, and flesh, if he himself will. 48. In the unction there is healing and forgiveness of sins; and it is no ordination, as some men imagine. And if the man be again sick, let him again receive unction when it be needful: and if it happen that he dies, let the corpse be wisely buried, and the soul earnestly committed to God."[4]

Here we may refer to the order (before mentioned) of archbishop Lanfranc "de ægrotantibus morti proximis:" although not immediately relating to parochial visitation it is of no little interest and importance: "Si infirmus magis ad mortem, quam ad salutem tendere videatur, et se petat inungi, frater qui domui infirmorum præest rem fratribus in capitulo narret; tunc . . . . exeant sacerdos hebdomadarius, secretarius, quatuor conversi, et parent quæ ad hujusmodi negotium parari oportet. Quibus paratis, ... exeuntes de monasterio transeant ante capitulum, hoc ordine procedentes; primus ex conversis

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[3] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 179. [4] *Ibid.* p. 385.

unus cum situla aquæ benedictæ, dehinc alius cum cruce, post hos duo cum candelabris, extremi secretarius cum oleo, et sacerdos alba indutus, et stola, cum manipulo portans librum. . . . . Psallentes septem psalmos ad ægrum veniant: et ordinate circumstent, sicut locus, in quo jacet, fieri permittit. Primum spargatur aqua benedicta, dehinc finitis psalmis sequatur *Kyrie eleyson*, et capitula, et collectæ, quæ ordinatæ sunt usque ad confessionem; facta confessione absolvatur ab omnibus, et ipse absolvat omnes. Dehinc osculetur ab omnibus. Interim dicantur aliæ collectæ usque ad unctionem; facta unctione, lavet sacerdos manus, et projiciatur aqua in ignem, vel in sacrarium deferatur. Quo facto dictis collectis quæ sequuntur, vadat sacerdos, præcedentibus duobus conversis cum candelabris, vadat et tertius ad thuribulum deferendum. Quibus revertentibus flexis genibus adorent omnes corpus Domini quod a sacerdote affertur. Quo allato, abluto prius ore ejus, communicetur infirmus, nisi forte ipsa die communicatus sit."

From a remark in Matthew Paris [5] it would seem that after giving extreme unction all ornaments were removed from the person of the recipient: and from the same author that in some monasteries, and certainly in St. Alban's, the sick brethren were carried to the infirmary to receive it: "Sustentantes eum hinc inde fratres, duxerunt eum prout præcepit in infirmariam, ubi solemniter super lapidem ad hoc consuetum, oleo sancto infirmorum est inunctus, et salutis viatico communitus." [6]

[5] *Hist.* p. 707.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 1045. See a'so the *Lanercost chronicle*, p. 18, where the account is given of an attack

Extreme unction (as the reader has already seen) was to be administered equally with the other sacraments without payment of money, freely by the parish-priest:[7] I shall not therefore repeat any of the numerous canons which are directed only to this point.

The council of Durham about 1220, which we have had occasion to refer to more than once, lays down several particulars as to the due administration of extreme unction, and its necessity. First appealing to the authority of St. James, the decree continues: "Et propter hoc præcipimus, quod ad sacramentum extremæ unctionis, moneant frequenter populum sacerdotes, in necessitate videlicet, et non tantum divites sed pauperes, senes, et juniores omnes, maxime a quatuordecim annis, et supra, et omnibus petentibus et pœnitentibus gratis exhibeant hoc sacramentum in necessitate, cum fuerint humiliter requisiti. §. Item moneant sacerdotes frequenter populum hoc sacramentum licite iterari posse: scilicet in qualibet gravi infirmitate, de qua metus imminet mortis. Dicant etiam et denuncient confidenter, quod post susceptum hoc sacramentum, licitum est reverti ad opus conjugale. §. Cum reverentia deferatur oleum sanctum ad infirmos, et eos unguant sacerdotes cum magno honore, et orationum celebritate, quæ ad hoc sunt ordinatæ: et nihil inde, sicut nec pro aliis sacramentis, exigatur sive a paupere, sive a divite."[8]

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on the monastery when a monk lay dying, upon ashes, in the infirmary.

[7] Monks were forbidden to give the last sacraments (except in case of urgent necessity) without special licence from the bishop or the priest of the parish. Wilkins, tom. 3. p. 187.

[8] Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 583.

We may pass by councils, one a provincial under Stephen Langton at Oxford and another of an uncertain diocese about 1237,[9] both of which repeat in almost the same words the canon of Durham; with an addition as to the safe keeping of the sacred oil which I shall speak of presently, when we come to the provincial constitution upon which Lyndwood glosses. But a diocesan canon at Worcester of Walter de Cantilupe, A.D. 1240, enters so fully into some particulars and some erroneous notions of the people that, although long, it may not improperly be laid before the reader:—

"*De unctione extrema.* Quia vero sicut Dominus in evangelio testatur, *Non sanis, sed male habentibus opus est medico*, caroque quibuscunque fulta remediis, semper tamen ut mortis debetrix vergit in occasum, concessum est exeuntibus corporalis allevationis remedium, et remissio peccatorum, quæ sola datur, si forte non expediat ægroto corporaliter relevari; sacramentum videlicet unctionis extremæ, quod effectum duplicem, Jacobo testante, consequitur in ægrotis. Propter quod hoc sacramentum, cum aliis digne decet ministros ecclesiæ, cum cæteris fidelibus venerari, et ad hoc exequendum, sacerdotes promptos ad ægrotos accedere, horis quibuscunque fuerint accersiti. Sacerdos enim, qui se pigrum exhibet in visitandis infirmis, ex quo quandoque forsitan accidit, quod ægrotus absque confessione, et dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione decedat, expers etiam unctionis extremæ, perniciosum se, et non solum inutilem exhibet subditis, et tantam ejus incuriam per nos noverit condigna, pro viribus,

[9] Wilkins, tom. I. pp. 595, 659.

animadversione plectendam. Sunt autem quidam, ut audivimus, qui post perceptionem hujusmodi sacramenti, sanitati pristinæ restituti, nefas reputant, vel uxores suas cognoscere, vel carnes comedere, vel etiam aliqua ratione nudis pedibus ambulare. Horum autem errorem, utpote doctrinæ sanæ contrarium, execramur, et eos communicationibus et monitionibus duximus corrigendos, quia ferro abscindenda sunt vulnera, quæ fomenta non capiunt, ecclesiastica coercione, si necesse fuerit, præcipimus per sacerdotes eorum ab his erroribus revocari. Quidam etiam in tantum abhorrent hoc percipere sacramentum, quod hoc sibi vix in solo mortis articulo sustinent exhiberi; propter quod forsan accidit, quod ejus expertes plurimi ab hac luce subtrahuntur. Contra hunc igitur errorem, cum aliis eos per sacerdotes suos, et prædicatores alios crebris exhortationibus præcipimus præmuniri."[10]

The synod of Exeter under bishop Quivil, in the year 1287, repeats much of the above with the penalty of suspension if the priest neglected his duty, and this additional caution: "præterea præcipimus, quod, rejecta omni negligentia, parochiales presbyteri circa curam sibi commissam vigiles sint et solliciti, extra suam parochiam absque causa rationabili nullatenus pernoctantes; et tunc loco suo alium dimittant idoneum, qui ea, quæ animarum curæ incumbunt, sciat et valeat adimplere."[11]

Lastly, I shall cite the provincial constitution of archbishop Walter Raynold, A.D. 1322, with portions of Lyndwood's gloss:—

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[10] Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 669. So also the synod at Exeter in 1287; *Ibid.* tom. 2. p. 135.

[11] *Ibid.* tom. 2. p. 135.

"Cum magna reverentia deferatur oleum infirmorum ad infirmos, et ipsos inungant sacerdotes cum magna devotione, et orationum celebritate quæ ad hoc sunt ordinatæ: moneant sæpe populum sacerdotes, eos saltem qui sunt ætatis 14. annorum et supra, ad extremæ unctionis sacramentum recipiendum. Et quod post sacramentum susceptum licite possit reverti ad opus conjugale." "*Reverentia.* sc. cum superpellicio et stola: tamen sine lumine, et sine campanæ pulsatione, quæ duo debent duntaxat haberi in deportatione sacramenti eucharistiæ ad infirmum, vel alium extra ecclesiam communicandum." "*Oleum infirmorum.* Hoc est oleum ab episcopo benedictum. Et licet ex eis quæ leguntur *in d. §. ad exhibendum*, videatur innui quod oleum catechumenorum, et oleum infirmorum, idem sint; veritas tamen est, quod diversa sunt, et diversam habent benedictionem; sicut in pontificali plenius continetur." "*Ad infirmos.* Ex hoc patet, et ex subsequentibus, quod ad habendum hoc sacramentum non debet illud volens recipere, venire vel portari ad sacerdotem, sed sacerdos debet accedere ad infirmum." "*Sacerdotes.* Pluraliter loquitur, et sic videtur, quod duo ad minus debeant id facere: sed tu dic, quod unus sacerdos, præsente clerico, vel etiam solus sine clerico, potest infirmum inungere. Et hoc intelligatur de necessitate, viz. ubi non est nisi unus sacerdos ministrans in ecclesia, qui nec habet sacerdotem socium, nec clericum, qui valeat sibi assistere. Nam si commode potest haberi unus clericus, tunc debet adesse clericus ipse ad minus. Alioquin potest secum habere unum laicum literarium: quem si habere nequeat, neque clericum, tunc potest ipse sacerdos solus totum, quod collationi

dicti sacramenti pertinet, complere, et sibi ipsi respondere." "14. *annorum.* In hac ætate dicuntur adulti, ut dixi supra. Et istud sacramentum non dabitur nisi adultis qui peccata venialia videntur habere." "*Extremæ unctionis.* Dicitur unctio extrema, quia non debet fieri nisi laborantibus in extremis, et in periculo mortis constitutis, quando scilicet deficit auxilium humanum, et non potest succurrere nisi virtus divina. Sanis autem non datur hoc sacramentum, quia habent aliud remedium, scilicet pœnitentiam."[12]

One or two other circumstances must not be left unnoticed. First, in the same constitution of Walter Raynold, as to the repeating of extreme unction during the same sickness: "item doceant populum sacramentum extremæ unctionis anno elapso licite posse iterari, viz. quolibet anno semel in gravi infirmitate, de qua metus mortis imminet ægroto."

Again, in the same constitution: "Item, tam sanctum oleum quam chrisma sub fideli custodia, clave adhibita, conservetur, ut non possit ad illa temeraria manus extendi ad horribilia."[13]

This was a frequent subject of enquiry by bishops and other ordinaries in their visitations. For example, by an archdeacon of the diocese of Salisbury about the end of the fifteenth century: "Also ye shall inqwyre whether your chrismatory[14] be under lokke and key, and if it be not, ye shall presente it."[15]

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[12] Lyndwood, lib. 1. tit. 6, Cum magna reverentia.

[13] Wilkins, tom. 2. p. 514. Lyndwood's notes upon the first of these may be found lib. 1. tit. 7, Sacramentum. "The horrible purposes were no doubt sorcery, witchcraft," &c. Johnson's *Ecclesiastical laws.*

[14] The case for holding the holy oils.

[15] *Fasti Eccles. Sarum*, p. 130. See also the *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 705; tom. 2. p. 171.

After the last anointing the priest was directed to wash his hands: as the rubric below (p. 110) orders: "tunc erigens se sacerdos lavet manus suas cum sale et aqua, in vase quo stuppæ olei ponuntur: quæ igne crementur, et in cœmeterio fodiantur." The ablution in other instances, if not cast into the fire, was to be carried into the sacrarium, doubtless in order to be thrown away through the piscina: as in the constitution of Lanfranc, already cited. And this is plainly expressed in some foreign rituals. The present Roman ritual orders "medullam panis ad detergendos digitos, et aquam ad abluendas sacerdotis manus." Also several balls of silk, to remove the oil from the places anointed; which was an ancient observance in those cases where symptoms of recovery from sickness appeared, as we learn from Durand: "Et quod si æger inunctus convalescit loca inuncta laventur, et aqua lotionis in ignem projiciatur. Si vero decedat, non lavetur corpus propter recentem unctionem."[16] It may be added that these words of Durand were introduced into a canon of the sixth council of Beneventum.

Once more; all that remained at the end of the year of the holy oil and the chrism was ordered to be burnt: as, by a constitution of archbishop Peckham: "Vetus, seu quod superest de veteri chrismate, sit in sacris ecclesiis concremandum." New holy oils[17] were to be procured: "Presbyteri

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[16] *Rationale*, lib. 1. cap. 8. 25.

[17] Chrism is explained in one of the last documents of the old church of England to be made "ex oleo, quod nitorem significat conscientiæ, et balsamo, qui odorem significat bonæ famæ." *Decret. card. Poli*, *Concil.* tom. 4. p. 795.

quoque qui præsunt ecclesiis, aut per se, aut per diaconos, aut subdiaconos, a locorum episcopis[18] annis singulis ante paschæ solennitatem, vel quanto citius fieri poterit, sacrum chrisma singulis ecclesiis petere teneantur." Upon this Lyndwood among other observations says that the impossibility of procuring the new oil and chrism by easter day, in many places far distant from the cathedral city, would do away with the obligation: for the consecration was performed only a very short time previous, upon Maundy Thursday. And some places he says, as for example in the diocese of Lincoln, are more than a hundred miles from the city. Upon the words "*Singulis ecclesiis*" his gloss is: "Non ergo sufficit quod unus petat pro multis aliis ecclesiis forsan ecclesiæ suæ convicinis: sed requiritur, quod quilibet petat pro ecclesia sua." But, he continues, it would seem hard and unreasonable in very large and distant districts, if an arch-

[18] This necessity was one of the chief grounds for insisting on bishops keeping residence near their cathedrals. As, for example, in the constitutions of Othobon: "in quibus sanctum chrisma et oleum sacrum, atque infirmorum in die cœnæ Domini quolibet anno conficiant." On which the gloss of I. de Athon is: "*in quibus:* sc. ecclesiis desponsatis. *In die cœnæ:* i.e. in quinta feria ante pascha quolibet anno. *Conficiant:* et confici debet chrisma quolibet anno, vetusque cremari." tit. 21. The convocation of 1480 was prorogued "quia tempus paschæ appropinquavit, ita quod prælati et clerus ab ecclesiis suis non deberent esse absentes." *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 613.

Many monasteries obtained the privilege of exemption from the necessity of applying to the bishop of the diocese for the holy oils. As, for instance, St. Augustine's at Canterbury, in 1179: "Quod chrisma, et oleum sanctum, a quocunque voluerimus episcopo catholico poterimus suscipere, nec ea nobis audeat aliquatenus denegare." *Chron.* W. Thorn, p. 1835.

deacon or rural dean might not apply for the whole of his archdeaconry or deanery.[19] And, I presume, such in fact was a common practice.

A payment or fee was due for receiving the chrism. Lanfranc says in an epistle to a bishop of Chichester "chrisma tamen a vobis accipiant et ea, quæ antiquitus instituta sunt, in chrismatis acceptione persolvant." These fees were sometimes granted to the support of monasteries: "ego Ernulphus, episcopus, concessi in perpetuum ad ædificandas et sustentandas domos monachorum, denarios, quos presbyteri parochiani solent reddere, quando chrisma accipiunt."[20] The same manuscript has an account of the various payments which were to be made by each parish and chapelry in the diocese.[21] A singular use also appears very anciently to have been made of these periodical attendances upon their diocesan by the parochial clergy. "We enjoin (say the canons under king Edgar) that every priest be able to declare, when he fetches chrism, what he has done in prayers for bishop and king."[22] Probably it was an opportunity for the purpose of making other enquiries into the condition of the people and clergy.

It does not seem improper to add that the same constitution just cited of archbishop Peckham, although it was but a repetition of older ones to the same purpose, states that many parish-priests had been accustomed grievously to neglect the procuring every year the proper supplies: "Quidam tamen vel ignorantia crassa induti, quæ dolo creditur

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[19] Lib. 1. tit. 6, Cum sacri.

[20] *Textus Roffen.* p. 192.

[21] p. 228.

[22] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 259.

esse vicina, vel spiritu contumaci sacris in hac parte canonibus reluctantes, vetus chrisma alicubi per biennium, alicubi per triennium, et alio amplius reservantes, eodem in baptismate et aliis sacrificiis damnabiliter abutuntur, novum ab episcopis locorum de anno in annum non accipientes neque petentes. Quod ne fiat, de cætero præcipimus districte sub pœna suspensionis, quam ferimus in contumaciter contrarium facientes. Quod idem immo de sacro catechumenorum et infirmorum oleo sano accipiendum credimus intellectum."[23] The reader would do well to consult Lyndwood, in the place before cited, upon this also: he confesses that the "alia sacrificia" are somewhat obscure.

The great reverence which is due to chrism and the necessity of extreme care in keeping it are shown at a very early period indeed in the history of the English church. The penitential of archbishop Theodore says: "qui autem perdiderit suum crisma in regione qualibet ut non inveniatur, iij. quadragesimas aut annum i. pœniteat."[24]

CHAPTER III.

IT need scarcely be observed that the care of the Church for the bodies of all who have been made her members ceases not with the natural death. The penitential of archbishop Theodore says: "si quis sepulchrum violaverit vij. annos, iij.

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[23] Wilkins, tom. 2. p. 48.

[24] Thorpe, *Anglo-saxon laws*, vol. 2. p. 48.

in pane et aqua."[25] And the excerpts of Egbert add to this rule: "Si clericus in demoliendis sepulchris fuerit deprehensus, a clericatus ordine pro sacrilegio submoveatur."[26] In later years, one of the canons under king Edgar in the tenth century laid upon penitents the especial duty of burying the dead.[27] Compare the laws of Kenneth in Scotland, in 840: "Sepulchrum omne sacrum habeto, idque crucis signo adornato, quod ne pede aliquando conculces, caveto."[28] The sixty-fifth of the canons of king Edgar lays the care of the corpse upon the parish-priest, equally with the necessity of administering the last rites to the sick man: "Let him shrive him—give him housel—and extreme unction—and, after death, carefully order and allow not any absurdity with the corpse, but, with fear of God, bury it wisely."[29] As to being buried within churches: the twenty-ninth of the same canons checks the indiscriminate allowance of so great a privilege: "and we enjoin, that no man be buried within a church, unless it be known that he in life was so acceptable to God that, on that account, it be admitted that he is worthy of such a grave."[30]

I shall not extract any of the canons which forbid the bodies of certain great criminals to be

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[25] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 28.

[26] *Ibid.* p. 108.

[27] *Ibid.* p. 283.

[28] *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 180.

[29] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 259; Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 229: "Sed cum Dei timore decenter sepeliatur." "ac hiꞇ mið Ᵹoðeſ eᵹe ƿiſlice bebiꞃᵹe." Cp. Ælfric's pastoral epistle, Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 385.

[30] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 251. In the year 1518 some constitutions of the province of York, reenacting earlier canons, decreed: "Firmiter inhibemus ne cuiquam communio corporis Christi, vel morienti ecclesiastica sepultura, prætextu cujuslibet debiti, denegetur." *Concilia,* tom. 3. p. 672.

buried with the solemn offices of the Church; such as of perjured persons, adulterers, fornicators, suicides and others. They may be seen in the excerpts of Egbert, in the canons of king Edgar, in the laws of the Northumbrian priests, &c. In even earlier times, almost as soon as the conversion of the Anglo-saxons, we have a proof from the penitential of archbishop Theodore how strongly the Church detested the presence of buried bodies of sinful and unbaptized men within holy ground: "Missam celebrare in ecclesia licet, ubi fideles ac religiosi sepulti fuerint. Si vero infideles, ac hæretici, vel perfidi Judæi sepulti fuerint, sanctificare, vel missam celebrare, non licet; sed si apta videtur ad consecrandum, inde evulsis corporibus, et rasis vel lotis parietibus, sanctificabitur, si antea consecrata non fuit."[31]

Among the fragments and capitula of archbishop Theodore we have the following, both interesting and important: "Quæsitum est ab aliquibus fratribus, de his qui in patibulo suspenduntur pro suis sceleribus, post confessionem Deo peractam, utrum cadavera illorum ad ecclesiam deferenda sint, an non?"[32] The answer is that the holy eucharist might be given, but nothing is decided about burial: unless that might be supposed to follow after reception of communion as a matter of course. Some centuries later Ælfric, in his homily of the greater litany, laid down more strictly: "the possessions of no sinful man are to be received at his end, nor let his corpse be buried in a holy place."[33]

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[31] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 56.

[32] *Ibid.* p. 73.

[33] *Ibid.* p. 345. But "sinful" may possibly mean one who has died without the sacraments.

Theodore's penitential in a previous section tells us the course of the ceremonies according to the then use of the western Church which doubtless had been introduced, and for some time also perhaps observed, in the restored church of England: "Consuetudo etiam est Romanæ ecclesiæ, monachos, vel homines religiosos defunctos, in ecclesiam portare, ibique missam pro eis celebrare: deinde cum cantatione portare ad sepulturam; et cum positi fuerint in sepulchro, funditur pro eis oratio, deinde humo vel petra operiuntur."[34] With the above may be compared the thirty-sixth section of the confessional of Egbert, to the same effect: but this last adds that the custom then of the church of Rome, which in this respect does not seem to have been adopted by the Anglo-saxons, was to anoint the breast of the corpse of a monk or religious with chrism, after having been carried into the church: "consuetudo est, cadavera in ecclesiam portare, et chrismate pectus eorum ungere."[35]

A body of ecclesiastical laws, placed by Wilkins under the year 994, has one canon of some importance as to the burying of dead in churches: "Antiquus erat mos in his regionibus, mortuos homines frequenter in ecclesiis sepelire, et loca, quæ ad Dei ministerium sanctificata, et consecrata erant ad offerendum, ipsi facere cœmeteria. Jam nolumus abhinc, ut aliquis in ecclesia sepeliatur, nisi sit vir sacerdotalis ordinis, aut etiam tam justus laicus, ut sciatur quod vivus propter meritum vitæ suæ talem locum corpus suum ibi reponendi promeruerit.

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[34] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 53. See also Selden on tithes, cap. ix.

[35] *Ibid.* p. 161. Cp. Weever's *Funeral monuments*, ch. 2.

Nolumus tamen ut corpora, quæ prius in ecclesia sepulta erant, ejiciantur, sed tumuli, ubi appareant, ut utrum horum (eligatur) vel profundius illa in terra sepeliantur, vel transitus super ea fiat, et æqualiter ac convenienter cum ecclesiæ pavimento condantur, ut nullus tumulus ibi videatur. Si autem in aliquo loco tot tumuli sint, ut hoc difficile sit factu, tunc sinant loca illa cœmeteria esse, et auferatur altare inde, et in purum locum ponatur, et ibi ecclesiæ sint, ubi Deo reverenter et pure offerri possit."[36]

There is certainly some difficulty about the last passage of this canon. Johnson, in his collection of laws, says: "Churches must have been very indifferent structures, when it was in some cases more difficult to make even the floors, than to erect a new fabric: and I think it is agreed that few or no churches in this age were built of stone, but generally of timber." But, without discussing the question of the comparative number at that time in England of wooden and stone churches, I do not think that such is the fair inference to be drawn from this clause. There was without doubt in many, especially the remote, parts of the country a large number of ill or hastily constructed or dilapidated churches. And to these the order was intended to apply. Or again, the whole surface of the interior might have been covered with graves: and if the

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[36] Wilkins, tom. I. p. 267. By an early canon (in the ninth century) a cross was ordered to be put on the grave for further protection against carelessness or irreverence: "Sepulchrum omne sacrum habeto, idque crucis signo adornato; quod ne pede aliquando conculces, caveto." *Ibid.* I. 180.

building at the same time was not very deserving of being retained as the parish-church, to such also would the canon have reference. For in those days men did not, for every fanciful cause or even for some supposed public convenience, dig up and re-inter the dead bodies of those who had gone before: nay, more than this, at the expense and sacrifice of both time and money to themselves, they would rather build new churches than either disturb the graves, or on the other hand continue to celebrate the divine Mysteries in places where too many dead were lying, and some of very questionable character. In short, I cannot believe that the difficulty spoken of is to be attributed to the amount of mere labour or trouble of any kind; which indeed seems an absurdity almost, when fairly considered.

It was usual to carry lighted candles before the corpse to church: and omens were drawn from their continuing lighted. Many allusions to this occur in the chronicles, and I take one from Matthew Paris referring to the burial of an earl of Salisbury in 1226: "Contigit autem, quod dum de castello ad novam ecclesiam corpus ejus ad tumulandum portaretur, cerei qui cum cruce et thuribulo de more portabantur accensi, inter pluviarum effusiones, et ventorum turbines, lumen continuum in itinere ministrabant; ut aperte ostenderent comitem tam ardue pœnitentem, ad lucis filios pertinere."[37]

By custom in the middle ages every parish was required to provide and keep ready a pall with

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[37] *Hist. Angl.* p. 277. Compare an order about the funeral taper, in the *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 567.

which to cover the body or coffin when being carried to the church and grave. The dead were not always, nor commonly, buried in coffins, but sewn up carefully and reverently in strong cloth of some kind, bound round with bandages. The mode of this is frequently shown in illuminations.[38] It is believed that one or two of the ancient parish palls still exist though unused in the places for which they were made: but the destruction of them in queen Elizabeth's reign may be said to have been complete. Gilds provided richer and better palls for their members: and comparatively many of these have been preserved; especially in London, by the companies of the vintners, the saddlers, and several others. The practice of hiring palls came in about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Two provincial constitutions, having for their object the prevention of some excesses which as time went on not unnaturally crept in and were permitted, may properly be quoted. In the middle ages not only (as always) the evil were mingled with the good, but rudeness and freedom of manners gave an apparent opportunity to licentiousness. First, of London under archbishop John Stratford in 1342: which, after speaking of the unhappy tendency of many customs and practices, originally good, to degenerate, and therefore the necessity of change and restriction, proceeds thus: "Sane fidelium servare devotio consuevit, ut, obeuntibus

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[38] In a very beautiful book of Hours in the library of the British museum, of about 1470, the corpse is represented lying by the side of the grave, entirely naked, upon a large cloth in which it is to be wrapped up. MS. Additional 25,695.

hominibus vel mulieribus, ante corporum sepulturam, nocturnæ agerentur vigiliæ, in privatis quandoque domibus pro defunctis, ut illuc convenientes et vigilantes fideles, devotis precibus Domino fusis, intercederent pro eisdem. Inimici tamen latentis insidiis, quod salubriter custodivit antiquitas, superstitioso errore adeo in scurrilitatem nequiter est conversum, ut in vigiliis mortuorum hujusmodi, neglectis orationibus, illuc conventiculæ ineantur illicitæ atque fœdæ; unde adulteria, fornicationes, et furta sequuntur, et alia perpetrantur casualiter multa mala. Quia siquidem morbus iste quasi communis invaluit, eidem adhibendo medelam statuimus, quod in nostra provincia, peractis a viris ecclesiasticis mortuorum memoriis, nulli in privatis domibus, in quibus mortuorum corpora usque ad sepulturam requiescunt, frequenter de cætero receptentur ad consuetas populares nocturnas vigilias peragendas, defunctorum amicis, propinquis, et his, qui psalteria forsan dicere pro defunctis voluerint, duntaxat exceptis, sub pœna excommunicationis majoris, quam contra præmissa vigiliam facientes hujusmodi, et receptatores taliter vigilantium, non immerito poterunt formidare."[39]

The second constitution is of the province of York under archbishop Thoresby, in 1367: "Et

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[39] Wilkins, tom. 2. p. 707. See for earlier and diocesan statutes, *ibid.* 1. 691, and 2. 295. Lyndwood has this statute: but his observations are not of importance to our subject. Upon *memoriis* he says: "i.e. exequiis, et patet generaliter pro regeneratis omnibus solennes orationes fieri: quia non decernimus qui sunt hi, quibus prosunt, aut quibus non prosunt. Et ideo melius est, ut talia supersint his, quibus non obsunt nec prosunt, quam quod desint his quibus prosunt." Lib. 3. tit. 14, Quia sæpe.

quia sæpe contigit, quod quidam in sanctorum vigiliis conveniunt in ecclesiis, qui divinis ibidem deberent vacare obsequiis, vel in exequiis defunctorum pro animabus defunctorum hujusmodi oraturi, qui versi in sensum reprobum ludis noxiis, et vanitatibus, et quandoque pejoribus frequenter intendunt, Deum et sanctos (quos se venerari simulant) graviter offendentes, et in defunctorum exequiis, de domo luctus et orationis, domum risus faciunt et excessus, in animarum suarum periculum perquam grave; districtius inhibemus, ne aliqui venientes ad hujusmodi vigilias, et exequias, præsertim in ecclesiis hujusmodi ludos aut turpitudines, vel alia in errorem, vel peccatum ducentia faciant, vel exerceant quovis modo; sed studeant quilibet sic veniens humiliter et devote facere, propter quod hujusmodi vigiliæ et exequiæ fuerant ordinatæ."[40] The constitution goes on to lay fines upon all rectors and vicars who allow such practices; and to excommunicate the perpetrators.

The custom of ringing a bell on the death of any person was very anciently observed in England. Bede speaks of it as common in his time, and explains the object: he is relating the circumstances of the death of the abbess Hilda, and how it was made known the same night in a vision (he says) to a nun in a monastery at a great distance: "Hæc

[40] Wilkins, tom. 3. p. 68: repeated, word for word, nearly two hundred years later, under Wolsey: *ibid.* p. 662. In the same collection, tom. 1. p. 570, are a number of regulations to be observed at the death of a parish-priest, archdeacon, abbot, or dean, in the diocese of Worcester, A.D. 1219: and the offices which were to be said. See also the order for the obsequies of a bishop in 1407: *ibid.*, tom. 3. p. 305.

tunc in dormitorio sororum pausans audivit subito in aere notum campanæ sonum, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant, cum quis eorum de sæculo fuisset evocatus."[41]

Six hundred years after Bede an order of the bishop of Exeter, John de Grandisson, among the statutes which he drew up for the college of St. Mary Ottery, proves the continuance and general observance of the ceremony: "76. Insuper statuimus quod classicum pulsetur pro mortuis parum antequam incipitur placebo, quousque inchoetur dirige, et similiter ante missam dum dicuntur commendationes. Ita, videlicet, quod tam in obitibus quam etiam quando corpus præsens habetur secundum dignitatem personæ brevius vel longius prædictis semper temporibus pulsetur cum majoribus et pluribus vel minoribus et paucioribus campanis; sed inhibemus ne nimis prolixe pulsentur, nec iterum post officium vel in aurora, sicut solet Exoniæ; quia nihil prodest animabus 'æs sonans aut cymbalum tinniens,' et tamen multum nocet auribus, et fabricæ, ac campanis."[42] And this is one of the uses to which bells are said to be destined, in the ancient and often quoted distych:—

"Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro."

The custom in England (we may say) has always been to bury with the feet of the dead man towards the east. No one can have failed to see this who has passed, however carelessly, through the churchyards of our old towns and villages. Not to quote

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[41] *Hist. ecclesiastica,* lib. 4. cap. 23.
[42] Oliver, *Monast. Exon.* p. 272.

from others, we may content ourselves with the reason for this practice given by Durand: "Debet autem quis sic sepeliri ut capite ad occidentem posito, pedes dirigat ad orientem in quo quasi ipsa positione orat: et innuit quod promptus est, ut de occasu festinet ad ortum, de mundo ad seculum."[43]

The rubric of the revised Roman ritual orders, "Corpora defunctorum in ecclesia vel cœmeterio ponenda sunt pro situ et loco, ut sint versa ad altare majus: vel si conduntur in oratoriis vel capellis, ponantur cum pedibus versis ad illarum altaria. Presbyteri vero et episcopi habeant caput repositum versus altare, et pedes versus populum." Such however does not appear to have been a distinction generally observed in the mediæval church of England: and Catalani confesses that he has found no example of it in any ritual or council, previous to this last review of the ritual of the church of Rome. The same ritual forbids the burial of any person upon good Friday, or easter day.

Succeeding the order of burial the reader will find various forms of Benediction. These commonly were contained in the manual, although more properly they would be supposed to have belonged only to the pontifical: that is, if, as we shall see presently, Lyndwood's dictum is to be taken strictly. The benedictions which I have edited are not the only ones which occur in the Sarum manual; but those have been selected which relate to the furniture and ornaments of churches and of public worship. As the table of contents of the various editions usually has it, the "benedictiones omnium

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[43] *Rationale div. off.* vij. 35.

rerum ecclesiasticarum." The other benedictions are in another part of the book, such as "benedictio ensis novi militis," "carnis, casei, butyri," "novorum fructuum," "navis," &c.[44]

The canonists make three distinctions of benediction. Ferraris says, "benedicere potest contingere tripliciter, *enuntiative*, *optative*, *et imperative*. Enuntiative benedicere quod fit laudando est benedictio quam Deo tribuimus, cum toties eum benedicimus et laudamus. Optative benedicere, quod fit aliquod bonum benedicto optando, et precando, est benedictio quam homo homini dare solet, non laudando solum, sed etiam aliquod bonum adprecando. Imperative benedicere, quod fit imperando, et operando effectus intentos, est benedictio quam dat solus Deus per se, vel per ministros suos, et operatur prædictos effectus, et hanc quandoque Deus dedit per seipsum, quandoque vero per suos servos: et hodie in ecclesia fidelibus benedicit per pontifices, et sacerdotes, et religiosos viros."[45]

So also the very learned ritualist, Catalani. After speaking of the two other kinds of benediction, he proceeds: "Tertio benedicere significat consecrare et sanctificare, seu conferre aliquod esse sacrum rei, quæ benedicitur, ut fiat conveniens, et apta materia sacramenti, vel sacrificii; vel fiat instrumentum salutis sive animarum, sive corporum, ad quod pertinet illud apostoli dictum in epistola I. ad Timotheum, cap. iv, *Omnis creatura sanctificatur per verbum Dei, et orationem*... Et hæc est, quæ

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[44] See table of the contents of a Sarum manual in the dissertation on service books, p. lxxxviij.

[45] Promta bibl., *verb.* Benedictio, art. I.

benedictio ecclesiastica appellatur: quippe quæ nomine ecclesiæ, et ex auctoritate ei a Deo concessa fiat: posuit enim Deus sacerdotes, et ministros ecclesiasticos, dispensatores benedictionum suarum." "Tota vis benedictionum ecclesiasticarum est in oratione, et invocatione ecclesiæ, quæ fit per ejus ministros: . . . . quamobrem omni ratione cavendum est iis, ne alias benedictionum formas, ritus, aut cæremonias usurpent, quam quæ in libris ecclesiasticis, missali scilicet, pontificali, et rituali continentur, vel aliis suprema præsidum ecclesiæ auctoritate probatis." "Cavendum etiam, ne benedictiones ecclesiasticæ quocumque prætextu ad alios fines detorqueantur, quam ad quos ab ecclesia institutæ sunt. Cum enim illæ vim non habeant, nisi ex intentione, et invocatione ecclesiæ, non autem ex proposito, et voluntate utentium: certum est ex communi ordine providentiæ divinæ, easdem neque effectum sortiri alium, quam ab ecclesia institutum; neque sine piaculo ad alienos, et particulari præsumptione excogitatos usus posse applicare."[46]

The same writer goes on to explain further the distinction between the *benedictio invocativa*, and *constitutiva;* the first of which imparts a grace and benefit to the persons or things on whom it is bestowed, but does not alter their state: as the nuptial benediction, or of a king, &c. The second is that which applies to those offices which I have now edited; of oratories, bells, and ecclesiastical ornaments, which by such a benediction are removed

[46] *Rit. Rom. comment. de bened.* tit. viij. cap. I. Catalani is indebted for much of the above, and other parts of the same chapter, to a work by Eveillon, *De processionibus eccles.* cap. xxxj.

utterly and for ever from any profane use and given up solely to, and to be employed in, the service of the Almighty. Dedicated in short, by prayers and blessing, to God; and for the future His peculiar property: according to the canon-law, "Semel Deo dicatum, non est ad usus humanos ulterius transferendum."

An important point is involved in the question, whether these benedictions were anciently allowed to be performed by priests. They were (as I have said) in the manual, a book especially intended for the parish-priest: though there can be little doubt that some few of them were strictly limited to the episcopal office. But many others might, I conceive, have been performed by priests under special licence and authority.

In the edition (a famous one, but suppressed) of the Roman ritual, at Rome, 1584, 4to., before this part "De benedictionibus" is the following rubric: "Cum inter episcopos et presbyteros seu simplices sacerdotes sit non modica differentia, quod ad omnes communiter pertineant illa sex, videlicet catechizare, baptizare, prædicare, conficere, solvere, ac ligare: ad episcopum tamen seu pontificem novem specialiter spectant, scilicet clericos ordinare, virgines benedicere, episcopos consecrare, . . . in fronte chrismare, benedictionem solennem ante pacem dare. Et proinde episcopi libere his benedictionibus jure suo uti possunt: presbyteri autem seu simplices sacerdotes non omnibus, præsertim quæ pontificalis sunt ordinis vel functionis, vel quæ ab episcopis fieri consueverunt, nisi ex indulto apostolico, vel licentia sedis apostolicæ: ut est benedictio mapparum altaris, corporalium, sacerdotalium indumento-

rum et similium, quas facere non debent sine licentia speciali."

Whether Lyndwood further limits this rule by making no mention of such licence as obtainable, or whether his words are to be interpreted with less strictness, I must leave to the judgment of the reader. He says, upon a constitution of archbishop Edmund, "Vestimenta et alia ornamenta, quibus Domino ministratur, non solum debent esse honesta, sed etiam sacrata sive benedicta. Et debet hæc benedictio fieri ab episcopis: non autem a simplici sacerdote."[47] And with him, in the main, agrees Ferraris: "Paramenta ecclesiastica, et ornamenta omnia, tam ministrorum, quam altaris sunt per episcopum benedicenda: ita ut simplices sacerdotes illa benedicere non possint, neque ex delegatione et permissione episcopi, nisi ad hoc habeatur speciale privilegium sedis apostolicæ."[48] Again, Baruffaldus: "Ad sacerdotes episcopo inferiores pertinent benedictiones solum verbales, seu simplices, in quibus non intervenit unctio chrismatis, vel sacri olei. Inter istas vero nonnullæ sunt, quæ ipsi sacerdoti pertinent de jure, et ratione ordinis, alia quæ possunt ab eo conferri virtute delegationis factæ ab episcopo; cum sint etiam nonnullæ verbales et simplices, quæ soli episcopo pertinent, sed possunt ab eo delegari simplici sacerdoti. Dixi, nonnullæ, quoniam non in omnibus benedictionibus habet potestatem episcopus delegandi, sed in iis tantum, in quibus non intervenit unctio chrismatis, vel sunt materia alicujus sacramenti, cujusmodi sunt bene-

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[47] Lib. I. tit. 6, Panni chrismales, *verb.* Benedictionem.

[48] Promta bibl., *verb.* Benedictio, art. I.

dictio chrismatis, et olei infirmorum, aliaque in pontificali enumerata." [49] So, once more, Catalani takes the same view and specifies as benedictions which to be made by priests require no special permission, those only of candles, ashes, holy water, and the like; excluding the furniture of churches and of altars.[50]

In the ancient pontificals of the church of England, in a very solemn office, no restrictions are to be found, although beyond all doubt the power of consecrating and of blessing extended only within certain limits. One part of the office of the ordination of priests was the anointing of the hands: with this prayer, "*Sequitur consecratio manuum sacerdotum.* Conse ✠ crare et sancti ✠ ficare digneris, Domine, manus istas per istam unctionem et nostram bene ✠ dictionem: ut quæcunque consecraverint, consecrentur: quæcunque benedixerint, benedicantur, et sanctificentur: in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi." I take this from the Sarum pontifical: with which agree both the Winchester and the Bangor pontificals.

I shall only add further, upon this head, that in

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[49] *Rit. Rom. comm.* tit. xliv. 20.

[50] The opinions of the later canonists are briefly summed up by Catalani: "Ratio differentiæ cur episcopus possit inferiori presbytero, ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis committere, non vero ea quæ sunt ordinis, illa est: quia ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis non ita hærent personæ episcopi, ut ea quæ sunt ordinis, quæ episcopus in consecratione assequitur; quæque ita episcopi propria sunt, ut ab eo cedi non possint alii quam episcopo; coepiscopoque cedantur, non ut alii, sed ut alteri ipsimet propter vinculum et necessitudinem sacerdotii, quæ episcopos omnes velut unum habet, omnesque ecclesias velut unam colligit." *De ecc. reconcil.* tit. vij. § 2. Compare Lyndwood, lib. 2. tit. 1, Excussis, *verb.* commissarii.

the old accounts of churchwardens, in the collection edited by Nichols, we find more than one example of entries for expenses paid in procuring proper benedictions of church ornaments. Of the parish of Walberswick, in 1452: "Item, at Blibro, for halwyng of the pyx, auter clothis, and a tonych, an aube, an amyte, and expens. 1*s.* 8*d.*" Of the parish of Wigtoft, in 1524: "Imprimis, payd at boston for halowed of auter clothes, and makyng of the chalys. 3*s.* 8*d.*"[51] The entries do not prove that these articles were hallowed by the bishop: for although taken in one instance to Boston, possibly some priest or official might be there to whom licence had been given. And very much to the purpose is this item in the accounts of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, A.D. 1511: "Of the gift of my lady Clynton i tabil-cloth, sore worn, now hallowed for the high awter by the hands of mr. curate."[52] The record "sore worn" tells a tale not very creditable to the generosity of the "lady Clynton;" her piety seems to have been like that of some now-a-days, who keep their best things for themselves and give only the superfluity to God.

But some churchwardens' accounts, already spoken of,[53] of the parish of Stratton in Cornwall, certainly appear to connect these benedictions with the episcopal function and authority. Thus, there are three entries together in 1532, relating to the visitation of the bishop: "Item, for bred and drink to the ryngers to rynge agene my lord bosshopp, .ijd. Item,

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[51] *Extracts from churchwardens' accompts*, pp. 185, 214.

[52] *Ibid.* p. 6.

[53] See dissertation on service books, p. xxiij.

p^{d}. for a gallon of wyne to geue my lord boshopp, .ix^{d}." Immediately preceding which we find, "Item, for blessyng of v. awter clothys, and iij. new stolys, xxiij^{d}." So, in 1538, an item "for expenses to my lord byshopp ys visitacion, xviij^{d}," is followed by "payd for blessyng of vj. corporalls, xij^{d}." Once more, it would seem that these and such-like were sent, if no nearer opportunity occurred, even to Exeter for benediction: for there is an entry in 1540: "Item, payd for the blessyng of the sute of vestements that master Thomas Arundell gaue to the church, xvi^{d}. Item, for the carynge of the same from Exeter, .iiij^{d}."

The rite of consecrating and hallowing church furniture and ornaments may be traced up to the most remote antiquity. Forms of the English church are still extant which were used in the eighth century, and have been edited by Martene: in the Gelasian sacramentary are "benedictiones, seu præfationes linteaminum, ad consecrandam patenam, ad calicem benedicendum, item ad omnia in usum basilicæ, et præfatio chrismalis, scilicet vasculi, in quo eucharistia reponitur."[54] Georgius also cites from Sozomen the account of the consecration of the church at Jerusalem, A.D. 335, with this important passage: "Igitur episcopi Hierosolymam delati, ecclesiam consecrarunt, simulque ornamenta, et donaria ab imperatore transmissa: quæ quidem in eadem basilica hactenus manent, et a cunctis non sine ingenti stupore spectantur, ob magnificentiam et amplitudinem."[55]

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[54] See Georgius, *de lit. Rom. pontif.* tom. 1. p. 429.

[55] Sozomen, lib. ij. cap. 26.

The consecration of the plate and furniture of altars was continued in the reformed church of England until a late period: and many instances have been collected.[56] To these I would add an extract from a violent pamphlet, printed in 1641, which seems to show that such consecrations up to that time at least were not the practice of one or two bishops only, but of many. This is entitled "The true character of an untrue bishop:" and the fourteenth point of it is, "he, by his consecration, makes holy that which God hath made common: as bells, belropes, candles, corporalls and altars... A bishop can make that which is common, holy."

Little need be said upon the particular office of the hallowing of water and salt, which the rubrics of the English church anciently directed to be performed on every sunday. The holy water was preserved during the week in stoups, into which the people entering or departing from the church might dip their fingers; and in other vessels, to be applied to various purposes.[57] The stoups were generally fixed in the wall of the south porch in country parish churches; or were parts of the construction of the wall itself in the form of a decorated niche with a canopy.[58] There were many offices

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[56] See *Hierurgia Anglicana*, pp. 12, 13, 16, 21, 122, 129, &c.

[57] The "vas ad aquam benedictam," i.e. the small bucket in which the water was put for hallowing, and then carried round the church in order to sprinkle the congregation before mass, is of frequent occurrence in the canons of provincial and diocesan synods during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which have respect to the proper furniture and ornaments of churches.

[58] The horæ and prymers "ad usum Sarum" often have some short prayers prefixed to the office of the blessed Virgin: among them, a prayer "when

which involved a consecration of water and salt. At the laying of the first stone of a church, at its consecration and reconciliation, at the solemn seasons of baptism at easter and pentecost, as well as at other times, the "benedictio salis et aquæ" was an especial part of the office. But, although thus of such general observance for many centuries in the church of England, it seems to be allowed by the most learned writers upon ritual and church history that the blessing of water and salt as a part of the Divine service came into common use not earlier than about the ninth century. Bellarmine and Baronius assert its apostolical origin, and that the hallowing of water rests upon the authority of the first ages of the Church. But Martene declares that he cannot trace it beyond the time of which I have just spoken. Micrologus who wrote in the eleventh century (following an author, Walafrid Strabo, cap. 29, who lived two centuries before) tells us, "Alexander papa quintus a beato Petro constituit, ut sal et aqua benediceretur ad conspergendum populum," &c.[59] And he appeals to certain canons in further support of the constant practice of his own day. But Martene confesses that he has not been able to find these canons.[60] Catalani contents

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thou departe out of your chambre;" or "when ye goe forthe on a message;" or, again, "when thou takest holy water;" which last is as follows:—

"*Say thus:* Aqua benedicta sit mihi salus et vita: præsta mihi, Domine, per hanc creaturam aspersionis aquæ, sanitatem mentis, integritatem corporis, tutelam salutis, securitatem spei, corroborationem fidei, nunc et in futuro: Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria."

[59] *De ecc. observ.* cap. 46; *Bibl. patr. auct.* tom. 1. p. 758.

[60] *De ant. ecc. discip.* ix. 12. Dr. Rock in his *Hierurgia*, p. 667, quotes this order of pope Alexander, A.D. 110; and gives a print of a very remarkable and

himself with resting upon probabilities, in the absence of facts.

Upon the other hand, it cannot be disputed that water was blessed for various purposes in England long before the ninth century. In the seventh century archbishop Theodore writes in his penitential: "Aqua benedicta domos suas aspergant, quotiens voluerint, qui habitant in eis. Et quando presbyter consecraverit aquam, primum orationem dicat."[61] And there is a remarkable place in Bede, from an epistle of St. Gregory to Mellitus, where the pope directs the heathen temples to be sprinkled and purified with holy water.[62]

The form printed below is that appointed for the service in a cathedral, or large monastic church, where the staff of priests and ministers was sufficient in number to supply deacon and subdeacon, thurifers and acolytes, and so to form a procession. In small

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curious painting, which the reader should refer to, found in the catacombs of Rome. This however might be a pagan representation.

[61] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 58.

[62] *Hist. ecc.* lib. 1. cap. 30. Some very ancient forms of blessing water are printed by Mr. Warren in his recent and excellent book on the Celtic church, pp. 183, 207: running back to probably the eighth century. These are important, and one of them may be transcribed:—

"Domine, sancte pater omnipotens, instaurator et conditor omnium elementorum, qui per christum ihesum filium tuum in hanc creaturam spiritum creantem jussisti, te deprecamur, domine, ut hanc creaturam salis et aquæ benedicere et sanctificare digneris, ut ubicunque asparsa fuerint, omnis spiritus immundus ab eo loco confusus et increpatus effugiat, nec ulterius in eo loco habeat potestatem commorandi. Item presta, domine, per hanc creatam asparsionis sanitatem mentis, integritatem corporis, tutellam salutis, securitatem spei, corroborationem fidei, hic et in æterna sæcula sæculorum. Amen." Two other benedictions follow.

parishes the priest and one acolyte officiated alone; in almost all cases, immediately before the beginning of the sunday mass. The form to be used in parish churches was somewhat shorter and of a far more simple character: containing two or three verses and responses with the exorcisms and the prayers "Immensam," "Deus, qui ad salutem," and "Deus, invictæ."

The rubric at the beginning of the office makes the order, that the water be hallowed "omnibus dominicis diebus." It would seem that this was a rule which was much insisted upon, and that the abuse of sprinkling water which had been hallowed for a longer time than six days, and therefore of omitting this duty on the sunday, was often checked. Hence we continually find admonitions in canons of councils and synods to this effect. It has been said that the reason was not only lest the water should become foul but because of a mystery attached to the constant repetition of the blessing upon every sunday: as if it had some reference to the sacred waters of baptism.

But in some churches there were two sundays excepted; namely, of easter and whitsuntide; at which times the aspersion was made from the water hallowed on the eve preceding. This however as may be seen below was strictly forbidden, and rightly, by the rubrics of the Sarum and York manuals. It need scarcely be added that whenever, from accident or any other cause, it was necessary to have more water provided in the stoups [63] or

[63] In 1426 the duke of Exeter leaves to the priory of Wormegay a vestment, &c., "cum meo majori holiwater-stoppe de argento pro aqua benedicta cum aspersorio de argento." In

fonts, there was no day upon which this office was not permitted to be said. The place where it was to be performed is accurately laid down in the rubric, upon the usual solemn occasions: but at other times, or if required, there was no objection to the blessing of water, either in the sacristy, or in the open air, or in a private room.

There was anciently a small fee attached to the hallowing of water: this was called the "beneficium aquæ benedictæ," and was usually given to some poor scholar or clerk. I have not met with a similar rule in foreign churches; and it seems to have been peculiar to England. Thus it was ordered in some constitutions of the diocese of Salisbury, in 1256: "Personæ vel vicarii dabunt beneficium aquæ benedictæ clerico pauperi scholari, ita quod veniat omnibus solennibus diebus ad ecclesiæ serviendum, de qua habet dictum beneficium."[64] Such a disposal of it was occasionally disputed by the parishioners; and the synod of Exeter in 1287 repeats the order, adding, "si parochiani malitiose subtrahere velint eleemosynas consuetas, ad ipsas sibi largiendas sollicite moneantur, et, si necesse fuerit, compellantur."[65] In a constitution of the diocese of Winchester, in the year 1308, it is spoken of as the "beneficium aquæ portandæ" which, in like manner, is to be applied to the support of poor scholars.[66] And we may conclude from a decree of archbishop Courtney, in 1393, that a part of the duties of these "clerici aquæbajuli" was to carry the holy water into various parts of the

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another royal will, 1381, the aspersorium is called a "dasher." *Royal wills*, pp. 253, 106.

[64] *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 714.

[65] *Ibid.* tom. 2. p. 147.

[66] *Ibid.* p. 297.

outlying hamlets and sprinkle houses with it: that is, doubtless, if they were required to do so; as it is plainly expressed in a diocesan canon of the bishop of Coventry in 1247: "quia plerique scholares carent necessariis, quorum scientia multi per gratiam Dei potuerunt ædificari; volumus, ut scholares ferant aquam benedictam per villas rurales, si sint qui postulent et indigeant."[67]

When this office was abolished at the beginning of the reformation the unavoidable loss which poor scholars suffered in consequence was made up, or at least it was perhaps intended to be so, from other sources. Among the injunctions published by the king's visitors in 1548 was this: "forasmuch as the parish clerk shall not hereafter go about the parish with his holy water, as hath been accustomed, he shall instead of that labour accompany the churchwardens" in registering the sums of money collected for the poor.[68]

I shall add one extract from the *Rites of Durham:* "There was two faire hallewater stones belonging to the abey church of Durresme, all of verie faire blewe marble. The fairest of them stoode within the north churche dour .... being kept verie clene, and alwaies fresh water was provided against every sonnday morning by two of the bell ringers, or servitors of the church, wherin one of the monncks did hallow the said water, veri early in the morninge befor divine service. The other stood within the

[67] *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 641. Presentments for non-payment of the fee may be seen in Hale's *Precedents:* for example, Nos. iv. in 1480, and ccxciij. in 1510, both in the diocese of London.

[68] *Concil.* tom. 4. p. 29.

south church dour not altogether so curyouse, yet all of fyne blewe marble, beinge verie decentlie keapt in the same manner with freshe water every sonndaie morninge by the said bell-ringers or servitoures of the church; when, in like sorte, one of the monnks did hallow the said water very early in the morninge before dyvine service."[69]

Upon the Hallowed bread or Eulogiæ, the office for which succeeds that of consecrating water and is very short, considerable information is to be found in various writers.[70] The rite itself is to be without doubt traced up if not to the primitive yet to very early times of Christianity, and was observed in the church of England down to the reformation in the sixteenth century. The chief end of it was to supply the outward signs of communion to those members of the Church who, from whatever cause, were prevented from partaking of the holy eucharist; and the bread was taken from the offerings which the people made before the divine service.[71] I shall quote a canon respecting one purpose to which this hallowed bread was applied, from the council of Durham, A.D. 1220: "Quando mulieres post puerperium venerint ad purificationem, sacerdotes tan-

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[69] *Rites of Durham*, p. 32.

[70] Especially in Bingham's *Christian antiquities*, book xv. chap. 4; Saussajus, pars 2. lib. 2; and Cardinal Bona, lib. 1. cap. 23.

[71] Jealousies sometimes were caused among the women of a parish by the priest giving the pax to one before another who expected it first: see note in the *Ancient Liturgies*, at that part of the mass. In the same way women seem to have taken offence at reception of the blessed bread. In the *Vision of Piers Plowman* Wrath complains that sister Letice

"hadde haly bred er ich, myn
herte bygan to chaunge;"

and she beat her. Pass. vij. l. 146.

tummodo dent eis panem benedictum, et corpus Domini nullo modo eis proponatur nisi expresse petant, et prius confessæ fuerint."[72] And another, from a charter of confirmation granted to Flixton hospital, in Yorkshire, in the reign of Henry the sixth, which ordered a certain priest to say mass there, &c. "ac post missam illam panem et aquam sanctificare, et inter populum missam illam audientem dividere et spergere hucusque usitati fuissent."[73]

It will be seen that the prayer in the office had respect to the miracle of the blessing of the five loaves in the desert by our blessed Lord, and hence some late ritualists of the Roman catholic church have argued that this rite may be founded upon the actual institution of it by our Saviour Himself. Abdias (as cited by Catalani) declares, that St. Peter also thus blessed bread, and sent it to the sick who were thereby healed;[74] but he does not add that this story is rejected by Bellarmine and other writers. In short, though as I have already said the evidence is undeniable of the very high antiquity of the hallowed bread, yet it is difficult to rest it upon apostolical and much more upon divine authority.[75]

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[72] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 579.

[73] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglic.* vol. 6. p. 614. It is not easy to explain why the blessing of holy water was deferred until after mass; probably in fact the common practice was nevertheless observed.

[74] Bromton in his chronicle tells us of people preserved from a pestilence in the eleventh century by partaking of the hallowed bread. *Script. X*. p. 889.

[75] Reception of hallowed bread was ranked among the sacramentals, as in the old line which gives their names:—

"Orans, tinctus, edens, confessus, dans, benedicens."

These are to be understood with reference to saying the Lord's prayer, taking holy water, the eulogiæ, saying the "con-

It must not be forgotten that when the eulogiæ were first instituted communion also was strictly insisted upon;[76] but as time went on, the receiving of the hallowed bread began to be looked upon too much as a substitute for the eucharist and people rested contented with it, more especially as it did not require of them a strict preparation. Hence an abuse would not unnaturally creep in, and a custom never contemplated in purer and more earnest ages grow up, of partaking of the eulogiæ instead and in the place of the eucharist.[77] Solely for such a reason

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fiteor" at the public services, giving alms, and the blessing by a bishop.

[76] As in the eighth century by archbishop Egbert. Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 161.

[77] The reader may compare a proclamation of the year 1538 which, speaking of the holy bread, says that it was intended not to supersede but "to put us in remembrance of the howsell, which in the beginninge of Christe church men did oftener receive, than they use now to doe." *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 842.

More than a hundred years before this time, parish priests were charged to explain to their people the true intention with which the eulogiæ were given. Thus in Myrc's *Instructions* we read, with reference to the ablution then given to the people:

"Teche hem þenne, neuer þe later,
That in þe chalys ys but wyn and water,
That þey receyueth for to drynke,
After that holy hoselynge,
Therefore warne hem þow schal,
That þey ne chewe þat ost to smal,
Leste to smale þey done hyt breke,
And in here teth hyt do steke,
Therefore þey schule wyth water and wyn,
Clanse here mowþ that noyt leue þer in."

Cotton MS. Claudius A. ij. fol. 130.

The whole treatise, a very curious poem, has been printed with useful notes by the early English text society. The editor, Mr. Peacock, rightly refers for the original of the above lines to archbishop Peckham's constitutions; *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 52.

An abuse of the eulogiæ seems to have been creeping in early in the fourteenth century, leading to great irreverence

to receive the blessed bread would be of course to be condemned. How far the eulogiæ might rightly be regarded as conveying some spiritual grace is explained to the fullest extent by Catalani. He says: "secunda utilitas est in salutem animæ, quia ex intentione ecclesiæ panis distribuitur fidelibus, non modo, ut symbolum fraternæ communicationis, verum tanquam memoriale quoddam eucharistiæ, quo iidem fideles excitantur ad desiderium recipiendi ipsum eucharistiæ sacramentum; et hac ratione, ipso voto, seu desiderio sumitur spiritualiter idem sacramentum, et percipitur suo modo effectus illius, qui est unio cum Christo per fidem, et charitatem; et ideo hic modus sumendi eucharistiam in voto seu desiderio, appellatur communio spiritualis."[78] The "prima utilitas" of Catalani, in support of the continued observance of this rite of benediction, consists

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both of eating and drinking in some parish churches on easter day. There is no evidence of any extent to which this spread, and a sharp letter of archbishop Raynold put an end to it; *Ibid.* 2. 528.

Two or three very curious documents of the early part of the fifteenth century are preserved in the vestry of Trinity church, Coventry. One of them explains at great length the duties of the deacon attached to the church. Among them this: "Also, ye sayd dekyn schall se ye woly cake euery sonday be kyte [cut] a quordyng for euery man's degre, and he schall beyr ye woly brede to serue ye pepyll in ye north syde of ye churche."

[78] *Rit. Rom. comm.* tom. 2. p. 60. And to the same effect is the following from another writer of great authority: "Eulogiæ erant portio illa panis, quæ cum superesset consecrationi attento communicandorum numero, haudquaquam consecrabatur, sed solemni tamen ritu benedicta, et in particulas dissecta, in fine missæ distribuebatur iis, qui ob aliquod impedimentum non poterant, aut nolebant sacramenti eucharistiæ participes fieri, licet legatur etiam aliquando distributa iisdem ipsis, qui eucharistico cibo jam refecti fuerant." Cavalieri, *Opera*, tom. 4. p. 47.

in the benefit which the eulogiæ are supposed to convey to sick persons, and miraculous healing of diseases.[79]

In order to estimate the value which the common people down to the middle of the sixteenth century put upon the hallowed bread and water, we should remember that the removal of this weekly benediction made an especial article of the complaint of the Devonshire rebels in 1549. "We will have" they say "holy bread and water made every sunday; palms and ashes at the times accustomed; images to be set up again in every church; and all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy Church." Archbishop Cranmer drew up an answer to these articles; and on this particular point as well as on others he used language not becoming either his character or position in the church, and less moderate than I care to quote:[80] I may also mention that speaking in another place of the same events he calls these eulogiæ and the holy water "conjured bread and water."[81]

The office of the benediction of a bell which is the last, usually, in the Sarum manuals does not require many observations. There is a very learned and accurate treatise upon the whole subject by Angelo Rocca, in the first volume of his works:

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[79] The giving of blessed bread has long been discontinued by the Roman catholic church in England; how long I know not. Probably the observance of the rite ceased at the end of the sixteenth century, when even to say mass was an offence subject to very terrible civil penalties.

[80] See this answer in Mr. Jenkyns' *Remains of Cranmer*, vol. 2. p. 224.

[81] Todd, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. 2. p. 167; Burnet, *Records*, ij. B. 1. No. 47.

De campanis commentarius. Probably this rite was originally adopted from some similar custom of heathenism, but of its antiquity there can be no question whatever. Alcuin, who wrote in the eighth century, thus speaks of it: "neque novum videri debet campanas benedicere et ungere, eisque nomen imponere."[82] The form occurs also in the very ancient ordo Romanus (the exact date of which cannot be ascertained) printed in the *Bibliotheca patrum.*[83] The proper object intended by the use of this benediction is explained in the prayers of the office; "Deus qui per beatum," and "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus." A canon of a council of Cologne, A.D. 1526, plainly recognises and adopts these ends as those alone which the Church is supposed to have in view.

We cannot dispute that the order of consecrating bells appears to have reached the utmost limits of what can reasonably be allowed, and almost seems to trifle, if I may so say, with solemn parts of the holy office of baptism: and neither its allowed antiquity nor the proper desire to consecrate every portion of the House of G‿d and its furniture to His service by especial benediction can entirely excuse ceremonies which, unexplained, are open to objection. Still it is a stupid error to argue, as some controversialists have, about the baptism of bells. This, at least, was never intended in any, even the remotest, sacramental sense. Names indeed were given, and the bell was washed, and anointed; it was blessed and solemnly dedicated and set apart to God, but not baptized.[84] The

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[82] Cit. Angelo Rocca, tom. 2. p. 162.

[83] *Auctarium,* tom. 1.

[84] "Campanarum benedictio baptismus dicitur, quod vocabulum non adoptavit ecclesia, sed

Sarum use merely directs a name to be given. The modern Roman pontifical supplies the form now used, viz. "Sancti✠ficetur, et conse✠cretur, Domine, signum istud. In nomine Pa✠tris, &c. In honorem sancti .*N.* pax tibi."[85]

Some very great writers, ritualists as well as historians, have used the term baptizing bells but only as the vulgar mode of expression; and they often join it by way of explanation with the proper term, benediction. Thus Martene has a chapter, "de benedictione seu baptismo signorum;" and Durant says, "baptizantur autem campanæ, seu benedicuntur." In the capitulare of Charlemagne is a famous order "ut cloccæ non baptizentur;" cited by almost every writer upon this subject. It is said that this order had reference only to the superstitions which had crept in with regard to the rite, or to the application of the term baptism to it, and not to the proper observance of the ceremony But this interpretation is doubtful.[86]

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tantum tolerat, ut aliorum fidei ac simplicitati indulgeat. Certe in vetusto ordine atque in pontificali Romano, cunctisque libris ritualibus ecclesiarum, nunquam baptismi, sed benedictionis nomine campanarum benedictio appellatur." Devoti, *Instit. canon.* lib. 2. tit. vij.

[85] If the student wishes further to investigate the subject, he will do well to examine the treatise above spoken of by Rocca, the notes of Catalani on the pontifical, tom. 2. p. 334, and Saussajus, *Panopl. sacerd.* pars 2. lib. 2. art. xxij. The Paris ritual, edit. 1646, has a rubric directed to this point, so important was it considered. This orders the parish priest carefully to disabuse the minds of his people upon the matter; and to explain the difficulties.

[86] Vide Martene, *De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 296; Durant, *De ritibus eccles.* lib. 1. cap. 22; Ducange, *verb.* Campanas baptizari; Angelo Rocca, *Opera*, tom. 1. p. 163; and among English authors, Bingham, *Christian antiq.* book 8. cap. 7.

The Roman catholic church has for some ages, whether always must be open to question, restricted the benediction of bells solely to bishops; the office is not therefore contained in her ritual or manual, but in the pontifical. Matthew Paris speaks in many places of bells being consecrated by bishops; and Catalani concludes from those and some other examples that in England such only was the rule. But independently of the fact of this office being in the Salisbury manual, it is quite clear from its rubrics that in this country priests were permitted, and it would also seem without especial licence, to consecrate bells. The records of consecrations by bishops, in Matthew Paris, do not decide the difficulty; he is describing particular great occasions, or speaking of bells belonging to some eminent monastery; as of St. Alban, which, he says, was consecrated by the bishop of St. Asaph: "Benedixit quoque signa ecclesiæ S. Albani tam minora quam majora." More than this, Andreas du Saussay, a most learned writer, has laid down that even the circumstance of offices being contained only in the pontifical does not of itself prove that they may be performed solely by bishops. His observations are so important, bearing moreover upon the subject now immediately before us, that I shall extract the passage:—

"Verum multa sunt in pontificali, quæ etsi episcopo tribuantur, ut qui eminentiori jure hæc sibi officia vindicare potest, attamen a presbytero æque peragi possunt, quoad ipsum benedictionis effectum: episcopo scilicet permittente, vel saltem non prohiben e, nec enim istæ benedictiones, v. g. crucis, campanæ, vasculi pro eucharistia, &c. ita sunt episcopo propriæ, ut nonnisi ab ipso fieri possint aut debeant.

. . . Adde quod istarum rerum benedictiones, seu mysticæ illæ functiones nullatenus presbytero divino jure prohibentur, nec earum pleræque ullo jure positivo, vel sanctione canonica, sed sola tantum consuetudine non ubique solida, nam v. g. benedictio campanæ, quæ in pontificali Romano episcopo ascribitur, in ritualibus localium diœceseωn et signatim in Parisiensi, ordinario more exequenda, si non cuilibet sacerdoti, saltem parocho, seu ejus vicario assignatur."[87]

It is somewhat remarkable that the office for blessing the foundation stone of a church is not included in most of the pontificals of the English church which are extant. The Bangor manuscript limits the ceremony to the offering of a single prayer; and the only other office which I know is in the pontifical of archbishop Chichele in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge.[88] I print the office, therefore, from that manuscript.[89]

The modern Roman pontifical permits a priest to fix a cross, the day before, where the stone of the new church is to be laid. Very properly also, according to the rules of ancient canons relating to the subject, it is of obligation to ascertain beforehand that the church would be sufficiently endowed for repairs, for stipends of ministers, and for the ornaments and furniture. These regulations date from such an early age, that they may be traced as far back as at least the middle of the seventh century. In 675 we have an order, "ut unusquisque episcoporum meminerit, ut non prius dedicet ecclesiam, nisi antea dotem

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[87] *Panoplia sacerdotalis*, pars 2. p. 607.

[88] B. 11. 9. fol. 233 *b*.

[89] Dr. Henderson has also printed it, in the York pontifical published by the Surtees society.

et obsequium ipsius per donationem chartulæ confirmatum accipiat." And the reason, showing the reverence in those ages paid to holy things, is added: "nam non levis est ista temeritas, si sine luminariis, vel sine sustentatione eorum qui ibidem servituri sunt, tanquam domus privata, ita consecratur ecclesia."[90]

The student should compare the office as now ordered in the Roman pontifical with the old English use. There is scarcely any similarity between the two. In the Roman order there are special benedictions of water and salt; but no anointing of the foundation stone. The long prayer "Adsit, omnipotens Deus" is also omitted.

CHAPTER IV.

THE order of consecrating churches opens a subject upon which with little difficulty a large volume might be written, and full of interesting details. I do not propose now to do more than extract from the *Concilia* of Wilkins and the *Provinciale* of Lyndwood a few passages which prove that the church of England has always looked upon this rite as of the highest necessity. We may conclude this from the earliest of our ecclesiastical records: take for example the forty-seventh chapter of the penitential of archbishop Theodore; speaking of a building in which heathens had been buried, but now proposed for a church, he adds "si apta videtur

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[90] Concil. Brachar. iij. can. 5.

ad consecrandum, inde evulsis corporibus . . . . sanctificabitur, si antea consecrata non fuit."[91] In the same chapter mention is made of that part of the office of consecration in which it is said, "locus a Deo iste factus est."[92] The 141st of the excerpts of archbishop Egbert testifies to the careful consideration which was had of these matters: "Si motum fuerit altare, denuo consecretur ecclesia. Si parietes tantum mutantur, et non altare, sale et aqua exorcizetur. Si homicidio vel adulterio fuerit violata, diligentissime expurgetur, et denuo consecretur."[93]

In the year 816 a famous council was held at Chalchuith: the second canon of which is "*De modo consecrandi ecclesias.* Ubi ecclesia ædificatur, a propriæ diœcesis episcopo sanctificetur; aqua per semetipsum benedicatur, spargatur, et ita per ordinem compleatur, sicut in libro ministeriali habetur. Postea eucharistia, quæ ab episcopo per idem ministerium consecratur, cum aliis reliquiis condatur in capsula, ac servetur in eadem basilica. Et si alias reliquias intimare non potest, tamen hoc maxime proficere potest, quia corpus et sanguis est Domini

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[91] Compare the order as given by professor Stubbs, in the *Councils*, &c., vol. 3. p. 190. "Prisci etenim Christi fideles in ædificiis construendis gentilium imitatores, ad eorum similitudinem sacra templa erigebant, vel ab ethnicis jam erecta, ab omni profanæ superstitionis labe expiata, divinos in usus aptabant: ut innuit Ausonius in gratiarum actione pro consulatu: 'basilicæ olim negotiis plenæ nunc votis pro tua salute susceptis.' Et Isodorus, originum lib. 5: 'Basilicæ prius vocabantur regum habitacula, nunc autem ideo basilicæ divina templa nominantur, quia ibi regi omnium Deo cultus et sacrificia offeruntur.'" Ciampini, *Vet. monumenta*, tom. 1. p. 9. See more about basilica, and its meaning as usually the same with ecclesia, in Catalani, *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 378.

[92] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 56.

[93] *Ibid.* p. 120.

nostri Jesu Christi. Seu etiam præcipimus unicuique episcopo, ut habeat depictum in pariete oratorii, aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, quibus sanctis sint utraque dedicata."[94] I have made some observations upon a part of this canon in another work, to which the reader must be referred.[95] Making one more extract from the *Concilia*, I shall pass on to the legatine constitutions. In the year 1076 a canon of a council at Winchester ordered, "ut in ecclesiis, nisi ab episcopis consecratis, missæ non celebrentur."[96]

The second constitution of Otho, made in the year 1236, is "De consecratione et reformatione status ecclesiæ." The summarium of John de Athon is very important: "Basilicarum seu majorum ecclesiarum consecratio in veteri Testamento instituta, et in novo studiosius observata, licet in quibusdam partibus Angliæ fuerit neglecta, sic est per diœcesanos, aut eorum vicarios episcopos diligenter facienda, ut nulla maneat biennio, postquam parietes ejus perfecti fuerint, consecranda: alioquin solennibus missarum officiis noscatur interdicta, nisi tamen legitime fuerit excusata. Consecratæ vero non diruentur sine maturo diœcesani consensu, quæ dirutæ mox reparentur."[97]

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[94] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. I. p. 169.

[95] *Antient liturgies*, 3rd edit. p. 24.

[96] Wilkins, tom. I. p. 365.

The sermon appointed in the Liber festivalis for the anniversary of the dedication of a church tells us that "the chirche is halowed for thre causes: y^t^ is for ye chirche clensyng; for deuout prayenge; and for the deed bodyes buryenge."

[97] Upon the occasion of some very important consecration, many bishops would often be present with the consecrator: and there, after the office was concluded, would say a mass at a separate altar; either prepared for the day, or built for

In the year 1305 an important statute was passed at a provincial synod held under archbishop Winchelsey: and as this sets forth the furniture of churches which, before consecration, parishioners were bound to provide, I shall extract it from the text of Lyndwood; first observing that two hundred years earlier a canon of the synod of London, under Anselm, had ordered, "ne ecclesia sacretur, donec provideantur necessaria et presbytero et ecclesiæ:"[98]—

"Ut parochiani ecclesiarum singularum nostræ *Cantuariensis* provinciæ sint de cætero certiores de defectibus ipsos contingentibus, ne inter rectores et ipsos ambiguitas generetur temporibus successivis, volumus de cætero et præcipimus, quod teneantur invenire omnia inferius annotata, viz. legendam, antiphonarium, gradale, psalterium, troperium, ordinale, missale, manuale, calicem, vestimentum principale cum casula, dalmatica, tunica, et cum capa in choro cum omnibus suis appendiciis, frontale ad magnum altare cum tribus tuellis, tria superpellicia, unum rochetum, crucem processionalem, crucem pro mortuis, thuribulum, lucernam, tintinnabulum ad deferendum coram corpore Christi in visitatione infirmorum, pyxidem pro corpore Christi honestam, velum quadragesimale, vexilla pro rogationibus, campanas cum chordis, feretrum pro defunctis, vas pro aqua benedicta, osculatorium, candelabrum pro

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the future service of the church itself. Thus, in the reign of Henry the third, a church was consecrated at Hales; the king and queen were there: "episcopi vero tredecim. Qui omnes missam die dedicationis celebrarunt, quilibet vero ad suum altare. Lincolniensisque ad majus altare missam solemniter valde decantavit." Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* p. 714.

[98] Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 382.

cereo paschali, fontem cum serura, imagines in ecclesia, imaginem principalem in cancello, clausuram cœmeterii." [99]

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[99] Lyndwood, lib. 3. tit. 27, Ut parochiani. Among the constitutions of William de Bleys, in the year 1229, are two or three chapters which should not be overlooked; but being somewhat long they shall be given in a note:—

"Cap. 2. *De ornamentis ecclesiarum.* In qualibet ecclesia hæc subscripta ad minus haberi debent. In ornatu altaris duo paria vestimentorum, cum duobus paribus corporalium, amplitudinis congruentis, cum una rochetta, unum festivale, et aliud feriale, in quo sacerdos altaris mortuus tumuletur, si necesse fuerit. Duæ pallæ altaris, una festivalis, et alia ferialis. Tria lintea, unum benedictum ad minus. Duo calices, unus argenteus, in quo celebretur, alius stanneus non benedictus, cum quo sacerdos altaris sepeliatur. Duæ pixides, una argentea, vel eburnea, vel de opere lemonitico, vel alia idonea, in qua hostiæ reserventur, et sub fideli custodia clavi adhibita conserventur; alia decens et honesta, in qua oblatæ reponantur. Duo vasa, unum vinarium, et aliud aquarium. Unum par candelabrorum, unum thuribulum, unum chrismatorium decens et honestum, et sub fideli custodia clavi adhibita conservatum. Duæ cruces, una processionalis et alia ad officium mortuorum.

"Cap. 3. *De ornatu chori.* In ornatu chori duo superpellicia, unum vexillum, unum velum quadragesimale, unum sacrarium immobile, una lanterna vel bocca, unum tintinnabulum, cum quo corpus Christi deferetur ad infirmos præferendum et pulsandum, operimentum decens et honestum inter altare et summitatem chori: fenestræ vitreæ, et chorus ipse decenter coopertus.

"Cap. 4. *De ornatu corporis ecclesiæ.* In ornatu corporis ecclesiæ corpus ipsum decenter coopertum, fenestræ vitreæ, fons baptismalis lapideus, et decenter coopertus, vas stanneum vel plumbeum ad minus ad aquam benedictam, feretrum competens ad sepulturam mortuorum, una lancea ad vexillum deferendum.

"Cap. 5. *De cœmeterio.* In ornatu cœmeterii ipsum cœmeterium sit decenter circumvallatum muro, vel sepe, vel fossato: nulla pars cœmeterii ædificiis occupata sit, nisi tempore hostilitatis. Crux decens et honesta, vel in ipso cœmeterio erecta, ad quam fiat processio ipso die palmarum, nisi in alio loco consuevit fieri.

"Cap. 7. *De ecclesiis dedicatis et altaribus.* Item in ecclesiis

In another place, viz. the dissertation upon service books, I have cited Lyndwood's gloss upon

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dedicatis, annus et dies dedicationis, et nomen sancti, in cujus honore dedicata est ecclesia, distincte et aperte scribantur circa majus altare, in loco ad hunc idoneo: idem fiat circa minora altaria." *Concilia*, tom. I. p. 623.

Again, in the year 1287, we have the following among the diocesan regulations of Quivil, bishop of Exeter, which have been so often quoted. I cannot but presume that the reader will excuse the length to which this note must run, on account of the interest of the subject. "Cap. xij. *De ecclesiarum ornamentis.* Ut ornamenta ecclesiarum, quibus quasi propriis instrumentis sacramenta ecclesiastica ministrantur, sint fulgida et honesta, exemplum nos docet doctissimi Salomonis, dum vasa domus Dei ex auro purissimo constituit fabricari. Quapropter præcipimus, quod quælibet parochialis ecclesia, et (etiam) capella distinctam habens parochiam, munda et decentia habeat ornamenta.

"Sit in qualibet ecclesia saltem unus calix argenteus, purus vel deauratus: ciphus argenteus vel stanneus pro infirmis, ut postquam eucharistiam assumpserint, loturam digitorum suorum sacerdos sibi præbeat in eodem. Sint duo corporalia munda et integra cum repositoriis: duo paria vestimentorum; quorum unum festivale, aliud feriale: quatuor tuellæ ad majus altare, quarum saltem duæ sint benedictæ, et una illarum cum parura; item ad quodlibet altare, cum contigerit missam inibi celebrari. Sint superpellicea duo et unum rochettum: velum quadragesimale: velum nuptiale: palla mortuorum: frontellum ad quodlibet altare: missale bonum, gradale, troparium, manuale bonum, legenda, antiphonale, psalteria, ordinale, venitare, ympnare, collectare.

"Præsens synodus scripta habeatur in singulis ecclesiis citra festum S. Michaelis: cista ad libros et vestimenta: pyxis argentea vel saltem eburnea ad eucharistiam, cum serura: chrismatorium stanneum cum serura: asser ad pacem: pyxis ad oblatas: tres phialæ: sacramentarium lapideum et immobile: thuribulum: vas ad incensum, vas ad aquam benedictam: hercia ad tenebras: candelabrum paschale: duæ cruces; una fixa, et alia portabilis: imago beatæ Mariæ virginis, et sancti loci ejusdem: cereus paschalis: duo cerei processionales: cælatura super altare: campanella deferenda ad infirmos, et ad elevationem corporis Christi: lucerna: boeta: campanellæ ad mortuos: fere-

parts of this constitution; and shall now therefore take the following only: "Casula, i.e. planeta, qua induitur presbyter celebraturus missam. Dalmatica, i.e. veste sacerdotali, vel diaconali. Tunica, tunica dicitur antiquissima vestis, quasi tonica, quia in motu incedentis sonum facit. Et est proprie tunica de pellibus, secundum januensem. Hic tamen ponitur pro veste subdiaconali, qua utitur in officiando

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trum mortuorum: baptisterium lapideum bene seratum: fenestræ vitreæ sufficientes in cancello et navi ecclesiæ. Qualiter hæc sunt necessaria in ecclesia Dei ad explendum cultum divinum, usus nos instituit quotidianus. Quædam istorum, prout utilitas exposcit, in majoribus ecclesiis, quæ sufficiunt, duplicentur vel triplicentur; in quibus sint hæc amplius quam aliis: diaconus et subdiaconus, capa chori, tunica et dalmatica, duo philatoria ad cornu altaris, et unum ad patenam." *Concilia*, tom. 2. p. 139.

In this order, the sacramentarium cannot but mean the altar; it is a most uncommon word, in such a sense, and we must have recourse to conjecture, with a consideration of the context. The boeta was possibly an enclosed case or frame, in short a lantern; as opposed to the unenclosed lucerna: but Ducange who cites this Exeter statute under the word *Lucerna boeta* unites the two, with the same meaning. I cannot but think however that Wilkins has rightly edited the original, as separate things; for the name "boeta" alone occurs twice in the statutes of bishop Grandisson for the church of St. Mary of Ottery: "sconsas et boettas illuminandas" in the forty-sixth; again in the second, *de exhibitione cereorum*, "unus de clericis ecclesiæ unam candelam in sconsa vel boetta accensam ponat super gradum chori." *Monasticon diœc. Exon.* p. 273. The cælatura was probably the canopy over the high altar. I would not pretend to decide what the philatoria or velatoria or filatoria were: perhaps the curtains hung on each side of the altar. But if so, it is not easy to explain the "unum ad patenam," except as a "chalice veil."

It may be a question whether the bocca of the earlier constitutions of 1229 may not have been misread for boeta. The "bauca" of some ancient documents appears to have been a box or vessel of a different kind.

sacerdoti ad missam. In choro, i.e. illo loco ecclesiæ ubi canunt, qui in choro sunt. Sacerdos enim extra tempus missæ, dum exercet divina officia, præsertim dum ministrat incensum ad altare, vel dicit collectas, utitur capa. Appendiciis, sc. amictibus, albis, cingulis, manipulis, et stolis. Frontale, i.e. apparatum pendentem in fronte altaris, qui apparatus alias dicitur palla. Magnum altare, sc. illud ad cujus honorem ecclesia est dedicata. Et solet hujusmodi altare collocari in choro tanquam in solenniori loco ecclesiæ. Tribus tuellis, duobus sc. ponendis super altare subtus corporale: tertium vero erit ad usum lavatorii pro manibus tergendis. Tria superpellicia, ad usum scilicet trium ministrorum ecclesiæ, viz. sacerdotis, diaconi, et subdiaconi. Rochetum, quod differt a superpellicio, quia superpellicium habet manicas pendulas, sed rochetum est sine manicis, et ordinetur pro clerico ministraturo sacerdoti, vel forsan ad opus ipsius sacerdotis in baptizando pueros, ne per manicas ipsius brachia impediantur. Pyxidem, supple cum clausura. Honestam, videlicet ex ebore, argento, vel alia materia decenti. Osculatorium, sc. pacis ad missam. Fontem, sc. baptismalem. Imaginem principalem, sc. illius sancti, ad cujus honorem ecclesia consecrata est. Clausuram cœmeterii, propter porcos, et animalia alia, quæ possent illud deturpare. Sunt enim cœmeteria circa ecclesiam ab aliis locis dividenda: et circa ecclesiam majorem continebit cœmeterium 40 passus, sed circa ecclesiam minorem continebit 30 passus." Two points are to be remembered with regard to this constitution and the gloss of the canonist. First, that it has reference only to those ornaments and necessary furniture which upon their

parts the parishioners were bound to provide, leaving, without further specification, other things which would fall upon the incumbents; and, secondly, that some declared to be necessary must have been so only with a distinction had between the means and wants of small and large parishes; such (for example) as the three surplices, which would not be required except in parishes to which were attached also the full number of priest, deacon, and subdeacon.

Becon, in his *Reliques of Rome*, gives an account of the ceremonies of the consecration of a church which, as he was a contemporary, seems to be worth transcribing: "When any churche is to be hallowed, thys order muste be observed. Fyrste all the people muste departe out of the church, and the deacon must remaine there onely, havyng all the doores shut faste unto hym. The byssop with the clergye shall stande withoute before the churche doore, and make holy water mingled with salt. In the meane season within the churche there must be set up .xij. candles brennyng before .xij. crosses, that are appoynted uppon the churche walles. Afterwarde the bishop accompanied with the clergye and people, shall goe thrice aboute the church withoute, and the bishop having in his hande a staffe with a bunche of ysope on the ende, shall with the same cast holy water upon ye church walles: and at every time the bishop shal come unto the church dore, and strike ye threshold therof with his crossier staffe and say, *Tollite portas, &c.* Then shall the deacon or minister that is within, say, *Quis est iste Rex gloriæ?* To whom the bishop shall aunswere, and saye: *Dominus fortis, &c.* At the third time

the deacon shall open the church doore, and the byshop shall enter into the churche accompanied with a fewe ministers, the clergye and the people abiding still without. Entring into the churche, the byshop shall saye: *Pax huic domui.* And afterward the bishop with them that are in the church shall saye the letanye. These thynges done, there must be made in the pauemente of the church a crosse of ashes and sand, wherin ye whole alphabet or Christ's cross shall be written in Greek and Latin letters. After these things ye bishop must halow an other water with salt, and ashes, and wine: and consecrate the altare. Afterwarde the twelve crosses y^t^ are paynted upon ye church walles, the byshop must annoynt them with chrisme, commonly called creame. These thinges once done, the clergy and the people may frely come into the church, ring the bells for ioye," &c.[1]

The same writer presently continues: "The manner and order of consecrating or halowing altars, is this. First the byshop muste beginne, *Deus in adjutorium.* Secondly, he shall make holy water. Thyrdely at ye foure corners of ye altare he shal make foure crosses with holy water. Fourthly, the bishop shall goe seven tymes about the altare: and seuen tymes he shall washe the table of the altare, or altare stone with holy water, having the holy water sprynckle made of ysope. The churche also shall be sprinkled agayne with holy water: and whatsoever holy water doth afterwarde remaine, shall bee poured out beneath at the altare. Fiftlye at the foure corners of the sepulchre, wherein y^e^

[1] Fol. 256, edit. 1563, 12mo.

reliques are laide, the byshop shall make foure crosses with ye creame: and the reliques shall be layde up in a bagge with three graines of francken-cense, and put agayne in the sepulchre. Then shall there be made in the middes of the sepulchre, a table with the signe of the crosse. Sixtly, the stone, which is called the table, shall be made mete, and laide upon the altare: and beyng so made mete, the byshop shal annoynt it with oyle in five places: and lykewise shal he afterward doe with the creame, as it is said of the oyle. The byshop also shal confyrme the altare in the forehead or forefronte with a crosse of creame: and shall burn franckensence upon the altare in five places. After al these thinges be done, the altare shal be covered with fayre clothes: and the priest may now lawfully sing masse upon it, when he will." The "confirming of an altar" seems to be an improvement upon the vulgar notion of the "baptizing a bell."

Before I leave this part of the subject, it is well to add that in inscribing the alphabets within a St. Andrew's cross, the later plan adopted in the printed pontificals of the church of Rome has been followed, instead of the exact order as the alphabets are written in the manuscript. There is little doubt that the old rule of performing this part of the office was to place the letters in the form of such a cross; and the reader will be enabled to form a better idea than he otherwise might of the mode in which they were inscribed. In the manuscript the two alphabets are written in large characters. The Latin is sufficiently correct, but the Greek consists of certain mysterious signs, most of which have but a distant resemblance to the letters; and moreover are in number twenty-

eight, instead of twenty-four. In fact, the scribe instead of copying the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet appears to have taken by mistake the numerical signs, under each of which he has inscribed its arithmetical power, with the supposed names above. These last however present some singular deviations from common usage. Thus, we have *othomega* for *omega ; ennacis* for *sampi;* and the Latin M for the ͵α.

No assertion can be more correct than that of Catalani with regard to the origin or first institution of the consecration of burial-grounds. "Quandonam" (he says) "ritus consecrandi seu benedicendi cœmeteria initium sumpserit, difficile est definire. Est quidem res antiquissima."[2] St. Gregory of Tours, in the sixth century, speaks of such consecrations as being no novelty or a contemporary introduction.[3] But there is no need to accumulate authorities on this point.

In the earlier ages—from the sixth to the tenth centuries—cemeteries were not always attached to churches: and in later days, monasteries and conventual houses of all kinds very commonly had cemeteries in which the members only of the community were buried, except by special permission. So, also, was it the case in the cathedrals. But burial-places wherever they were, whether in or outside towns, whether close to the church or some little distance from it, were always consecrated.

To be buried in holy ground was a privilege of Christian membership which remained after death. To claim and to enjoy that privilege was limited to

[2] *Pontif. Rom.* tit. vj. 25. [3] *De gloria confess.* cap. cvj.

those only who had died in the communion of the Catholic church. All who were out of that sacred fellowship, whether by never having been admitted into it or by having been expelled, were not suffered to lie side by side with good men in consecrated ground. It would exceed my space, nor is it sufficiently within the limits of my subject, to give a list of those who were so excluded by various canons and constitutions of the mediæval English church. Speaking generally and of the more usual classes we might name Jews, all unbelievers, all unbaptized; even infants who had died without baptism; apostates and heretics or schismatics under ecclesiastical censure; all suicides; all who had not fulfilled the obligations of the easter communion, and had not received the sacraments afterwards; all thieves and robbers who were slain in the commission of their crime.

The office for the reconciliation of a church or churchyard is important as illustrating the doctrine that churchyards are no less consecrated than churches. Reconciliation was held to be necessary when unhappily the sacred building or the ground had been polluted by bloodshed, or the commission of some impurity or profanation, or by the burial of some excommunicated person; or, again, when a great portion of the church had been destroyed by fire or other accident.[4] Homicide no less than murder would desecrate a church; and some canonists have gone to the length of including the shedding of

[4] These were the chief reasons as given in the *Pupilla oculi*, pars ix. cap. 1. Each admitted a variety of modifications, which may be found fully discussed in the various canonists; and especially in Hostiensis, *Summa*, lib. 3. rubr. xl.

blood even from a wound; but this could scarcely be, unless inflicted maliciously. The actual shedding of blood, in itself, was not necessary; any violent death, by suffocation through the pressure of a crowd or by the falling from a scaffold, would be sufficient cause for reconciliation.

Durand gives us a reason for all this, and with more than his usual judgment: "fit reconciliatio ad exemplum et terrorem, ut videlicet, videntes ecclesiam, quæ in nullo peccavit, propter peccatum alterius lavari et purificari, existiment quantum propter suorum delictorum expiationem sit laborandum."[5]

Reconsecration, in these cases, was never permitted; and this rule was based upon the mystical resemblance which consecration was supposed to have to holy baptism. The statement is plain in the Decretum, dist. 68, can. 3, under the authority of a pseudo-Nicene canon: "quia sicut infans a qualicunque sacerdote in nomine Patris, &c., semel baptizatus, non iterum baptizari, ita nec locus Deo dicatus iterum consecrandus est."[6] This canon is quoted, after Gratian, by almost every writer on the subject; wherefore I have introduced it; and, although not genuine, as attributed to so high a source, yet the principle which it lays down was universally acknowledged and acted on from a very remote antiquity. For St. Gregory in one of his epistles places together cases of doubtful baptism, confirmation, and consecration of a church, deciding that each is to be performed, "quoniam non monstratur

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[5] *Rationale*, lib. I. cap. vj. 44.

[6] "Ecclesiam semel solemni ritu consecratam denuo consecrari non posse, quocumque etiam enormi crimine pollutam seu profanatam docent sacri canones passim." Catalani, tom. I. p. 322.

iteratum quod non certis indiciis ostenditur rite peractum."[7] Long before his time, in the year 398 the sixth canon of the fifth council of Carthage after speaking of doubtful baptism continues: "similiter et de ecclesiis, quoties super earum consecratione hæsitatur, agendum est, id est, ut sine ulla trepidatione consecrentur."[8]

I quote from Matthew Paris (ad an. 1173) the account of the suspension of the celebration of divine service in the cathedral of Canterbury, after the murder of archbishop Becket: "Post mortem beati Thomæ martyris fere anno integro, ecclesia Cantuariensis a divinis cessans obsequiis, continuis perstitit in lamentis, subversum est ecclesiæ pavimentum, sonus est campanarum suspensus, nudati sunt parietes ornamentis, et sic quasi in cinere et cilicio exequias in tristitia et mœrore persolvit. Sed tandem ad matris suæ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ vocationem in festo sancti Thomæ apostoli, suffraganei convenerunt episcopi, ut ecclesiam, longa suspensione consternatam, juxta mandatum domini papæ in statum pristinum reformarent. Bartholomæus igitur Exoniensis episcopus, ad petitionem conventus, missam celebraturus solennem et sermonem ad populum habiturus, sic exorsus est: 'Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuæ lætificant animam meam.'"

The question how far a church and its churchyard were mutually influenced in regard of a desecration seems generally to have been settled according to

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[7] Lib. 12. epist. xxxj.

[8] Mansi, *Concil.* tom. 3. p. 969. It must, however, be added, that in some copies of this council this final clause is omitted.

the following rule: "polluta ecclesia, cœmeterium si ei fuerit contiguum, censebitur quoque pollutum; secus si remotum fuerit ab eadem. At e converso polluto cœmeterio non censetur propterea polluta ecclesia, tametsi contigua: et, si duo sint cœmeteria quæ pariete medio sibi junguntur, uno polluto, aliud pollutum censeri non debeat."[9]

There were some difficulties in deciding whether if the altar was destroyed or removed a reconsecration of the church would be required. The later practice (as now observed, I believe, by the Roman pontifical) was against it. This appears to have been the received opinion in the time of the author of the *Pupilla:* who adopts the rule, "propter altaris fractionem aut destructionem vel mensæ amotionem, non reconsecratur ecclesia sed solum altare."[10] But St. Anselm thought otherwise, and we may conclude that the practice of the church of England in his day differed from that of the fourteenth century. The archbishop is replying to a question upon the point, put to him by an abbot: "in hoc omnes concordant quod violato principali, tota ecclesia cum altari iterum consecranda est: nec ecclesia consecranda est sine consecratione altaris, aut principalis, aut alicujus alterius in eadem ecclesia."[11]

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[9] Van Espen, *Jus eccles.* pars ii. 2. tit. 1 (tom. 1. p. 632). His opinion is of course based on the decisions of the canon law. The same rule is laid down in the *Pupilla*, loc. cit.

[10] loc. cit.

[11] Epist. lib. 3. clix. *Opera*, p. 423. Van Espen says that the archbishop was deceived in his judgment, owing to his reliance upon a false decretal. I have cited the passage as illustrative of the then practice of the English church. St. Anselm not only however gives his decision, but the reason of it; he continues in the same epistle: "Altare non fit propter ecclesiam, sed ecclesia propter altare: et

The archbishop further says: "Si aliqua pars ecclesiæ destructa reficitur, aut nova sit altari immoto, aqua tantum ab episcopo benedicta aspergendam dicunt." Upon this matter we may also refer to the *Pupilla:* "In tribus casibus debet ecclesia dudum consecrata iterum consecrari. Primus casus est quando dubitatur an fuerit consecrata, an non: et hoc quia non apparet aliqua scriptura aut instrumentum de dotatione ipsius ecclesiæ: in libro vel columna vel tabula marmorea, vel hujusmodi: nec ad hoc apparet aliquis testis qui deponere possit de visu vel etiam de auditu. Secundum est si ecclesia exusta fuerit ita quod parietes sint combusti et disrupti, vel notabiliter etiam decrustati seu devastati, in toto vel in majori parte. Secus si totum tectum exustum fuerit. Tertius est si ecclesia funditus sit dirupta et deinde ex toto reparata: sive ex eisdem lapidibus sive ex aliis. Si vero non simul sed successive omnes parietes ruerent, vel dirimerentur, et etiam non simul sed successive et particulatim reparati sive renovati essent: non esset de novo consecranda ecclesia. Quia eadem ecclesia intelligitur ante reparationem et post: sed tunc debet reconciliari per aspersionem aquæ exorcisatæ.—Item si ecclesiæ consecratæ quid addatur ad longitudinem vel ad latitudinem non ideo reconsecrabitur: quia sacrum

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ideo violato principali altari, jam non videtur esse ecclesia quia non est illud, propter quod ecclesia construitur et consecratur. Quapropter cum illud fit novum, recte videtur cum eo consecrari, per quod recipit ut sit ecclesia."

The separate consecration of altars is believed by some to have been of late introduction, and that for many centuries they were held to be made sufficiently sacred by the contact of the blessed eucharist. Thiers, *Dissert. de altar.* cap. 2.

trahit ad se non sacrum. Sed sufficit si aqua exorcisata aspergatur."[12]

It was certainly allowed according to the use of some churches in the middle ages that a priest might perform this office of reconciliation: but I think it probable that at least in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the English church observed the more general rule, which restricted it to the bishop of the diocese or to another bishop with his licence.[13] The office itself, as the reader will observe, supposes the presence of the bishop, equally as in the solemnity of a consecration: nor is it likely that the express decision of Gregory the ninth in the thirteenth century would have been disregarded: "Aqua per episcopum benedicta ecclesiam reconciliari posse per alium episcopum non negamus; per sacerdotes simplices hoc fieri de cætero prohibemus:—quia licet episcopus committere valeat, quæ jurisdictionis ex-

[12] Pars ix. cap. 1.

Bishop Gibson cites several examples of reconciliation of churches in England since the reformation, from archiepiscopal registers of the seventeenth century. He gives the following account of a reconsecration in the time of archbishop Abbot: "When the church of Southmalling had not only been polluted (*per bestias et animalia diversorum generum, aliisque modis profanata*) but was also new-built, and then used for divine offices without new consecration; archbishop Abbot interdicted the minister, churchwardens, and parishioners, *ab ingressu ecclesiæ—donec ecclesia præfata, et cœmeterium ejusdem, per nos, aut alium auctoritate nostra munitum, canonice et legitime consecrata fuerint: prout jura et sanctiones ecclesiæ in ea parte editæ postulant.*" *Codex juris ecc.* p. 190.

[13] A licence to reconcile a parish church in Northamptonshire, which had been desecrated by murder, was granted to an abbot in 1299. A previous licence seems to have been granted to the rector; but not used. Baker's *Northamptonshire*, vol. 1. p. 275. This licence was granted by the bishop of Lincoln.

istunt, quæ ordinis tamen episcopalis sunt non potest inferioris gradus clericis demandare."[14]

The office for the reconciliation of a church or churchyard in the Roman pontifical differs considerably from that which was observed in England in the middle ages: and the student should carefully examine the variations.

I have seen it stated (and lately, or otherwise it would be a circumstance scarcely worth alluding to) that churchyards are not consecrated ground, but ground which has been only blessed: and, it is to be presumed, that therefore churchyards are less holy and less set apart from all profane uses than churches are. If this were true, it might perhaps be further argued that interference by the state or by the civil government with churchyards would be a matter of slight importance compared with any interference with churches. Of course, the danger of going on further, that is from "blessed" to "consecrated" things, whether ground or buildings, would still remain to be considered. The first step would have been, at any rate, taken: and in dealing with holy things, as with private property, the first step is immeasurably important. But there is no real foundation for any fanciful distinction—and it is no more than a fancy—of this kind. If there can be said

[14] In cap. ix, x. *de consecrat. ecclesiæ.* Cf. Castaldus, *Praxis cærem.* lib. 2. § xi. The *Pupilla* in the extract above does not appear to make any distinction between the "aqua benedicta" to be used for this or any other ceremony. But from what van Espen says, in the place cited before, § xx, this ought to have been "aqua consecrata;" that is, by a bishop and mixed with ashes: an opinion which is borne out by the rubric of the office below.

to be one thing, upon which all church history, all rituals, and all canonists whose authority is worth appealing to, are agreed, it is that churchyards are as truly consecrated, as strictly holy, and as much set apart for ever for the service of God and for the burial of the members of His church, as the churches themselves are.[15] A churchyard which had been polluted or desecrated could not be reconsecrated. As with the church so with the churchyard: reconciliation was the only course which could be taken to render the ground fit once more to receive the bodies of dead Christians. Neither baptism nor consecration of a churchyard could be repeated: and neither the one nor the other required the use of chrism as an essential of the rite.[16] A sinful Christian is never rebaptized; he is reconciled. A desecrated church or churchyard cannot be reconsecrated but is, in like manner, reconciled.

That any one should have hastily supposed the contrary is owing simply to the circumstance that the term "dedication" is often applied in pontificals to churchyards and not the term "consecration." The argument is utterly worthless: for the terms are used interchangeably (so to speak) of both the one and the other. Going back to very early times, and we need not refer to numberless mediæval

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[15] "Cœmeterium consecratur, et reconciliatur, eisdem modis et ab eisdem, quibus consecratur et reconciliatur ipsa ecclesia." Ferraris, *Prompta bibliotheca*, *verb.* ecclesia. There is no need to heap up authorities.

[16] Some one or two writers of no great authority speak as if chrism altered the character of the rites in which it is used, and necessarily added to the sacredness of the consequences which followed. For example, Pouget; whose language however is loose and inaccurate. *Instit.* tom. 2. p. 893.

instances, we find in one of the oldest of the Roman pontificals the titles "dedication of a church," and "consecration of a churchyard." So it is in the most ancient of all extant English service books; the pontifical of archbishop Egbert. In that, also, we have the "dedication" of a church, but the "consecration" of a cemetery.

We come now to the Ordo ad synodum, which as an important part of the old pontifical I have placed after the office of the reconciliation of a church. Councils may be divided into four classes, viz. œcumenical, in which are represented the various churches of the whole Christian world, and whose decrees are infallible; national, which includes the dioceses of one country but of more provinces than one; provincial, of a single province; and diocesan, which is the council called by the bishop, of the priests of his own diocese. This last is that with which we have now to do.

There is abundance of evidence, if it was necessary to enter into it, that the practice of holding synods is coeval with the first ages of the Church. We must not pass by the two most ancient canons which are extant to this effect. One, among the apostolical canons; the thirty-seventh: "Let there be a meeting of the bishops twice a year, and let them examine among themselves the decrees concerning religion, and settle the ecclesiastical controversies which may have occurred. One meeting to be held in the fourth week of the pentecost [i. e. the fourth week after easter] and the other on the twelfth day of the month hyperberetæus [i. e. October]." The other is part of the fifth canon of the council of Nice: "It is decreed to be proper, that

synods should be assembled twice every year in every province . . . . and of these synods, one is to be held before lent, the other in the season of autumn." And in like manner as the bishops met in the provincial synod, so in the diocesan did each prelate collect his clergy to deliberate upon matters within their jurisdiction, to examine complaints, to enforce discipline, and to correct abuses.

In the canons enacted under king Edgar we find two which relate to this subject: "We enjoin that they (the clergy) at every synod have, every year, books and garments for divine ministry, and ink and vellum for their ordinances: and provision for three days. . . . We enjoin, that every priest at the synod have his clerk, and an orderly man for servant, and no ignorant person who loves folly: but let all go with decorum, and with fear of God Almighty."[17] And three hundred years before this date, in the same century with the establishment of the Church among the Anglo-saxons, at a council at Hertford under archbishop Theodore it was decreed "ut bis in anno synodus congregetur."[18]

I shall not delay to quote any of the frequent

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[17] Thorpe, vol. 2. p. 245. The fifth and sixth of the same canons direct that every priest shall declare if he have cause of complaint against any one: or if he have any contumacious person, or obstinate sinner, in "his shrift-district."

[18] Wilkins, tom. I. p. 43; Beda, *Hist.* lib. 4. c. 5. But from necessity the same council agreed for a period to meet but once a year; in August: "quia diversæ causæ impediunt." Compare also the third canon of the council of Chalcuith, A.D. 785: "Perstrinximus omni anno, secundum canonicas institutiones, duo concilia." Wilkins, tom. I. p. 146. By a canon at Durham in 1312, a synod of that diocese was to be held twice in each year: at Michaelmas and at easter. *Ibid.* tom. 3. p. 416.

orders made from time to time, in after ages, to the same effect; and make but one observation: that it was held to be a remarkable fact connected with the reign of William Rufus that "there was no ecclesiastical synod, and nothing went right."[19] It was of this time that Malmesbury complains how, for long want of synods, christian zeal had grown cold. I shall pass on therefore to one or two extracts from Lyndwood. He tells us that, in his day, synod was understood to mean the diocesan council: "Synodus enim solet dici concilium factum sive congregatum per episcopum in sua diœcesi."[20] And in another place: "*Synodis.* Hæ dicuntur conventus sive congregationes senum et presbyterorum: et debent fieri per episcopos annuatim. Et ad eas tenentur venire omnes illi, qui sub illo episcopo habent curam animarum." And he distinguishes synods from other clerical meetings. "*Capitulis.* Nota bene proprietatem terminorum: nam episcopis tribuit synodos; archidiaconis vero capitula." Again, from other meetings which the bishop himself might summon. "*Aliis convocationibus.* Quas ex variis causis facere potest episcopus, viz. propter subsidium charitativum exhibendum; propter visitationem exercendam; item propter prædicationem verbi Dei."[21] The canonist in speaking above of "once a year" seems to oppose the rubric of the Winchester pontifical, as well as numerous other canons which appointed synods to be celebrated twice a year. Possibly in his time there might have been a lax and degenerate custom; or it may have

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[19] See Johnson, *Eccles. laws*, 1102, Pref.

[20] Lib. 1. tit. 3, Statutum, *verb.* Synodali.

[21] Lib. 1. tit. 14, Item statuimus, *verb.* Synodis, &c.

been allowed in consequence of accidental difficulties which prevented more frequent meetings; or, again, from the great size of some dioceses once, at least, was to be sufficient. "Ad minus semel in anno" was the allowance made by the council of Basle: and in the council of Cologne A.D. 1549, cited by Catalani,[22] we have an express case of the diocese of Louvain considered, and decided on; that on account of its large extent one synod a year was to be sufficient.

We must not conclude that because the bishop assembled his priests therefore the canons published, after the conclusion of the synod, had been agreed upon by a majority of votes. The right of voting was not inherent in the members of the synod. They were called together to advise and to deliberate; and the bishop would himself decide whether he would ask for a vote of the synod or not: nor would he be even in that case bound to agree with the majority. The canons would be promulgated and enforced under the name and with the sanction of the synod, because finally settled after having been discussed and considered at the meeting. But the authority on which they rested would really be that of the bishop of the diocese alone.

The place where the diocesan synod was to be held was commonly declared in the order for assembling to be "in ecclesia;" that is, in the chancel: but there are not a few examples of synods which assembled in other parts of the church, as well as, upon some occasions, outside it. Thus the council of Chalcedon

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[22] *Pontif. Rom. comment.* tom. 3. p. 93.

and one of Constantinople are said to have met and sat in the baptisteries of churches.[23] The synod might be summoned to attend at any town in the diocese; of course it would be almost always at the cathedral, but for greater convenience or for any accidental necessity the bishop would have power to determine. So, with regard to the day of meeting: this, also, would be at the discretion of the bishop. In some dioceses a fixed day was appointed for every year; still subject, however, to the judgment of the bishop, if there seemed sufficient reason to change it. It seems agreed upon that those who were present should be vested in some proper manner, showing the difference of degrees. Catalani cites amongst others an early English synod A.D. 793, at which it happens to be recorded that the priests were vested in chasubles; "sacerdotalibus infulis;" and I extract the following from the same author: "Post annum millesimum perspicue a conciliis declaratum est, quo quisque cultu, et habitu synodo interesse debeat. Concilium Budense, 1279, episcopis, et abbatibus mitræ privilegio donatis superpelliceum, stolam, pluviale, et mitram assignat: prælatis inferioribus, superpelliceum, stolam, et pluviale: parochis, et presbyteris cæteris superpelliceum et stolam: monachis stolam dumtaxat. Synodus Coloniensis, anni 1280, can. xix. albam, stolamque prioribus, archipresbyteris, et decanis ruralibus tribuit: parochis solum superpelliceum. Synodus Nemausensis, anni 1284, parochis solum superpelliceum in synodo paschali, cappas rotundas in synodo S. Lucæ permisit. In aliis synodis non minus conspicuum est in sacris ves-

[23] Bingham, *Chr. ant.* book 8. cap. vij. 2.

tibus discrimen, quibus sacri viri in conciliis utebantur."[24]

Among the canons of a synod at Dublin in 1217 is one bearing upon the attendance of the clergy, though it does not speak of the dress or habit to be worn: "Præcipimus sacerdotibus, ut jejuni intrent synodum; jejunio enim debet fieri et oratione. Item præcipimus districtius, quod omnes presbyteri, maxime curam animarum habentes, veniant ad synodum, et si gravi infirmitate detenti, aut alia necessitate inevitabili venire non poterint, suum capellanum mittant, aut clericum loco suo. Item præcipimus, quod in eundo ad synodum, et redeundo a synodo, honeste ambulent presbyteri, et honesta quærant hospitia, ut in eis circumspecte se habeant, ne status clericorum vertatur in contemptum et opprobrium populo."[25]

Although there are not wanting ancient orders in which four days were to be the period of the synod, yet (as in the Sarum and Exeter pontificals) the most usual was for three days only. The constitutions which were made in these synods, as well as in the provincial, were called synodals.[26] These were afterwards usually published in the parish churches of the diocese:[27] "in which sense" (says Dr. Burn)

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[24] *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 18; prolegom. cap. xix.

[25] Wilkins, *Conc.* tom. 1. p. 548. Lyndwood says: "*Capellani.* Rectores, sc. qui debent esse capellani infra annum. Item vicarii perpetui, qui debent esse capellani ad minus in proximis ordinibus sequentibus." Lib. 1. tit. 14.

[26] But distinguished from "provincialls or legantines" in some injunctions of 1556. Wilkins, tom. 4. p. 143.

[27] Parish priests were not only supplied with copies, but were fined if they neglected to obtain them. *Concil.* tom. 3. pp. 567, 605. Publication of the new decrees was almost always required

"the word frequently occurreth in the ancient directories."[28]

A very few words may be excused with reference to the so-called "visitations" of the bishops of the reformed Anglican church in our own days. They seem to be a modern form of the ancient diocesan synod. Bishop Kennett says, "From the time that church-government was here established, I believe our bishops had the right of calling their own clergy to a synod, and to enter upon debates, and draw up rules and orders, that should be binding within that special jurisdiction. This power was apparently exercised for some ages, to the times of reformation under Henry the eighth, when the submission of the clergy made all diocesan meetings to be executive visitations, no longer legislative synods: yet when the clergy's submission was repealed under queen Mary, this diocesan power returned, and in that reign, Bonner and other bishops held synods and framed constitutions for their own respective dioceses. But now that submission is returned upon us."[29] The whole question is on a matter which I am not called upon to discuss, but I think it might be shown that the bishop in what he has here said has upon the one hand attributed more power of legislation than it ever claimed to the old diocesan synod, and upon the other carried too far the extent of the much-insisted on submission of the clergy. The mediæval synods could decree

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in order that ignorance might not be pleaded by any one, as an excuse for disobedience. Cf. *ibid.* tom. 2. p. 709; tom. 3. pp. 20, 72, and 604.

[28] *Ecclesiastical law, verb.* synodals.

[29] *Ecclesiastical synods*, p. 201.

nothing "as binding" which touched upon the faith or universal practice of the Catholic church. Modern diocesan synods of the established church are in like manner bound to keep within the limits of the canons of convocations, which have received the sanction of acts of parliament. It may probably also be reasonably argued that the submission applied only to the deliberations of convocations. At any rate, Kennett was not a writer who, when his argument at all required it, hesitated to strain the facts to which he appealed: and his expressed opinions require a careful examination before they are adopted.

In like manner a recent author is open to similar objections. We are told that "the modern forms of visitation in the Anglo-catholic churches seem to be derived both from those of the ancient visitation and the diocesan synod. The clergy, &c. are cited, names called, excuses received. Articles of enquiry having been previously sent and answered, the bishop administers such injunctions and corrections as he may judge necessary. Presentments are to be received; the bishop delivers a charge, and may publish injunctions or constitutions, enforcing the observance of the canons and other laws of the church."[30] This account corresponds in some particulars with the ancient visitation; but most certainly it does not with the old diocesan synod. To speak of one point only, so material that the rest utterly fails without it, we do not find a trace of the clergy of the diocese in modern days sitting at visitations in council with their bishop. That at visitations, as

[30] Palmer, *Supplement to Orig. liturgicæ*, p. 53.

now held, the bishop may (if he can) "enforce canons and laws of the church" is true; but they must be already canons of the reformed church, and this every bishop ought to do at all times.

It remains for me to specify the authorities and editions from which the following offices have been taken. The orders of baptism (including the *Ordo ad faciendum catechumenum*), of confirmation, of purification of women, of marriage, of visitation of the sick, of commendation, of burial, of benediction of the ornaments of churches, of bells, of water and salt, and of bread, are all taken from a copy of the Salisbury manual, of 1543, in my possession. It appeared upon all accounts desirable that an edition should be selected, printed before any change whatever had taken place in the ancient offices; that is, not only before the first common Prayer book of king Edward the sixth, but before the order of communion in 1548 and the prymer of 1545, and even the altered breviary of 1544. Certainly, the manuals of queen Mary's reign are almost word for word the same as the earlier books during king Henry's time, and I have used two or three editions of 1554 and 1555, and corrected by them what seemed to be merely typographical errors in the text of 1543. The full title and colophon of this edition are as follows:—

Title, "Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesiæ *Sarisburiensis: Rothomagi* recenter impressum, necnon multis mendis tersum atque emundatum, typis *Nicolai Rufi*, M.D.XLiij." *Colophon*, "Explicit *Manuale* ad usum insignis ecclesiæ *Sarisburiensis*, tam in cantu quam in litera diligentissime recognitum: et nusquam antehac elimatius impressum. In

quo ea quæ servat ecclesiasticus ritus ordine congruo connectuntur. Excusum *Rothomagi* in ædibus *Nicolai Rufi* typographi, M.D.XLiij." 4to. The "tam in cantu" relates to the musical notation, which the volume contains, of many parts of the various offices; antiphons, psalms, &c. This I have omitted altogether.

The offices of the consecration of a church, of a churchyard, and the order of holding a diocesan synod, are edited from a magnificent manuscript pontifical of the use of Sarum, in the library of the university of Cambridge; for the loan of which I gratefully expressed my obligations in the first edition of this work. This manuscript is a folio, upon vellum, of 287 leaves; the text written in double columns; having no illuminations except of initial letters; date, early in the fifteenth century.

This preliminary dissertation upon the occasional offices has, like the one preceding, extended to a greater length than I had at first proposed: yet I have done scarcely more than selected a few illustrations from much larger collections which I have made, and have attempted the consideration of those circumstances only which might be supposed to require some explanation or illustration not unacceptable to the reader. I possibly may seem to have erred in unnecessarily transcribing at length several extracts from the *Concilia* and other authorities which have been cited. I have avoided this as much as possible, but it may still be objected that in all cases mere references would have been sufficient. Judging however of the usefulness of such a plan by my own experience of its results, in the perusal of works otherwise most valuable, I cannot

but contend that many good ends are lost by always giving references only. The trouble of searching out the authorities named is not slight, and few will undertake it; again, in spite of every care which may be bestowed, references are sometimes erroneous; at other times they do not sufficiently distinguish the particular edition; and, lastly, to be of any benefit at all, the books referred to must be at the reader's command. In the present case, to mention only that great storehouse of the records of the church of England, to which I have been so much indebted, viz. Wilkins' *Concilia*, even that is not so common or so moderate in its price as to be within the reach of hundreds to whom, more especially, I humbly hope that these volumes will be of service. Other books from which extracts have been made are not simply difficult to be procured at any cost, but all are not even in our public libraries.

Occasional Offices selected from the Manual and Pontifical of the Church of Salisbury.

Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum.

IN primis deferatur infans[1] *ad valvas ecclesiæ, et inquirat sacerdos*[2] *ab obstetrice, utrum sit infans masculus an femina. Deinde, si infans fuerit baptizatus domi: et quo nomine vocari debeat: licet enim baptizatus fuerit domi propter periculum mortis, tamen totum habeat subsequens servitium, præter immersionem aquæ et quo nomine debet vocari.*

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[1] "Sacerdos sacramentum baptismi administraturus induatur superpelliceo et stola. Parentur cerea candela, sal, oleum catechumenorum, sanctum chrisma, linteum chrismale, et si benedicendus sit fons, cereus pasch." *Annot.* edit. Douay, 1610.

[2] In the Salisbury pontifical where "sacerdos" occurs in the text we always find "episcopus." "Imprimis inquirat episcopus ab obstetrice," &c. I must remind the reader that I do not in these notes propose to mark every variety of reading which may be in the pontificals or other rituals before me, but those only which appear intrinsically important or valuable for any reason.

The pontificals to which I shall refer will be chiefly a manuscript of the use of Sarum in the library of the university of Cambridge, of the fifteenth century; and another also in the possession of the same university, formerly belonging to the cathedral of St. Swithin, Winchester, of the twelfth century; a third, the famous Bangor pontifical, in the possession of the dean and chapter of that cathedral, of which I have spoken in the dissertation on service books, and in my work on the ancient liturgy: and lastly, that which is commonly called the Leofric missal, in the Bodleian library at Oxford. These last three manuscripts contain only those parts of the occasional offices which were mixed up (so to say) with the ceremonies of particular great occasions; and do not, like the Salisbury pontifical which was first mentioned, contain them entire.

¶ *Masculus autem statuetur a dextris sacerdotis: mulier vero a sinistris.*[3]

His quæsitis faciat signum crucis cum pollice in fronte infantis, ita dicens.

Signum salvatoris domini nostri[4] Jesu Christi in frontem tuum pono.

Et postea in pectore ita dicendo.

Signum salvatoris domini nostri Jesu Christi in pectus tuum pono.

¶ *Deinde tenens manum dexteram super caput infantis dicat:*

Dominus vobiscum. *Et,*

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, Pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, respicere dignare super hunc famulum tuum, *vel*, hanc famulam tuam :

Hic primo inquirat sacerdos nomen infantis: et respondeant patrini.[5]

N. Quem, *vel*, quam ad rudimenta fidei vocare dignatus es : omnem cæcitatem cordis ab eo *vel* ea expelle : disrumpe omnes laqueos sathanæ quibus fuerit colligatus *vel* colligata. Aperi ei, Domine, januam pietatis tuæ : ut signo sapientiæ tuæ imbutus *vel* imbuta, omnium cupiditatum fœtoribus careat : et ad suavem odorem præceptorum tuorum lætus *vel* læta tibi in ecclesia tua deserviat, et proficiat de die in diem, ut idoneus *vel* idonea efficiatur accedere ad gratiam baptismi tui percepta medicina. Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

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[3] "Hic primo inquirat sacerdos nomen infantis." Rubr. *Manuat. Ebor.*

[4] "Signum sanctæ crucis Domini nostri." *Pontif. Sar.*

[5] "*Patrini et matrinæ.*" *Pontif. Sar.* A short exorcism follows in the York manual.

Deinde dicatur oratio sine Dominus vobiscum: *sed cum* Oremus.

Oratio.

Preces nostras quæsumus, Domine, clementer exaudi: et hunc electum tuum *vel* hanc electam tuam,

Hic patrini et matrinæ nominent puerum. N.[6] crucis dominicæ, cujus impressione,

Hic faciat sacerdos crucem in fronte infantis: eum *vel* eam signamus, virtute custodi: ut magnitudinis gloriæ tuæ rudimenta servans, per custodiam mandatorum tuorum ad novæ regenerationis gloriam pervenire mereatur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus, qui humani generis ita es conditor ut sis etiam reformator, propitiare populis adoptivis: et novo testamento sobolem novæ prolis ascribe: ut filii promissionis quod non potuerunt assequi per naturam, gaudeant se recepisse per gratiam. Per dominum nostrum.

¶ *Exorcismus salis*[7] *sine* Oremus.

Exorciso te, creatura salis, in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis, et in caritate domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in virtute Spiritus sancti: exorcizo te per Deum vivum: per Deum verum: per Deum sanctum: per Deum qui te ad tutelam humani generis procreavit; et populo venienti ad credulitatem per servos tuos consecrari præcepit: ut in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis efficiaris salutare sacramentum ad effugandum inimicum. Proinde rogamus te, Domine

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[6] Omitted in *Pontif. Sar.*

[7] "*Quod teneat compatrinus in manu sua dextra.*" *Pontif. Sar.* "*Benedictio salis, sine* Dominus vobiscum *et sine* Oremus." Rubr. *Manual. Ebor.*

Deus noster, ut hanc *Hic respiciat sacerdos sal:* creaturam salis sanctificando sancti✠fices: benedicendo bene✠dicas: ut fiat omnibus accipientibus perfecta medicina permanens in visceribus eorum, virtute ejusdem domini nostri Jesu Christi: qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et sæculum per ignem.

Resp. Amen.

Postea interroget sacerdos nomen pueri: et ponatur de ipso sale in ore ejus dicendo:

N. Accipe sal sapientiæ, ut propitiatus sit tibi Deus in vitam æternam. Amen.

Post salem datum dicat sacerdos super masculum vel feminam:

Dominus vobiscum.

Et: Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus patrum nostrorum, Deus universæ conditor creaturæ, te supplices exoramus ut hunc famulum tuum *vel* hanc famulam tuam *N.* respicere digneris propitius: et hoc primum pabulum salis gustantem non diutius esurire permittas quominus cibo repleatur cœlesti: quatenus sit semper, Domine, spiritu fervens: spe gaudens: tuo nomini serviens: et perduc eum *vel* eam ad novæ regenerationis lavacrum: ut cum fidelibus tuis promissionum tuarum æterna præmia consequi mereatur. Per Dominum nostrum.[8]

Sequatur oratio[9] *super masculum tantum, sine* Dominus vobiscum: *sed cum.*

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[8] From the beginning of the office to the end of this prayer is the same in the Leofric manuscript; which passes on immediately to the "*benedictio fontis.*"

[9] "Super masculos tantum dicatur oratio ista manu sacerdotis supposita." Rubr. *Man. Ebor.* The direction "*Verte ad feminam*" omitted in the York use.

Oremus. *Verte ad feminam.*

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, Deus qui Moysi famulo tuo in monte Synai apparuisti, et filios Israel de terra Ægypti eduxisti, deputans eis angelum pietatis tuæ, qui custodiret eos die ac nocte: te quæsumus, Domine, ut mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum de cœlis, qui similiter custodiat hunc famulum tuum *N.* et perducat eum ad gratiam baptismi tui.

Sine. Per Christum.

℄ *Adjuratio super masculum sine* Dominus vobiscum: *et sine* Oremus: *sacerdote sic dicente:*

Ergo maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam, et da honorem Deo vivo et vero: da honorem Jesu Christo Filio ejus et Spiritui sancto: et recede ab hoc famulo Dei *N.* quia istum sibi Deus et dominus noster Jesus Christus ad suam sanctam gratiam et benedictionem, fontemque baptismatis, dono Spiritus sancti vocare dignatus est. Et hoc signum sanctæ cru✠cis,

Hic faciat sacerdos signum crucis in fronte infantis cum pollice suo, ita dicens:

Quod nos fronti ejus imponimus, tu maledicte diabole, nunquam audeas violare. Per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et sæculum per ignem.

Resp. Amen.

Hæc sequens oratio dicitur super masculum tantum sine Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus.

Deus, immortale præsidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum: te invoco super hunc famulum tuum *N.* qui baptismi tui donum petens, æternam consequi gratiam spirituali regeneratione

desiderat. Accipe eum, Domine: et quia dignatus es dicere, petite ac accipietis, quærite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis, petenti præmium porrige et januam pande pulsanti: ut æternam cœlestis lavacri benedictionem consecutus, promissa tui muneris regna percipiat. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

¶ *Adjuratio super masculum tantum, sine* Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus, *hoc modo:* Audi maledicte sathana: adjuratus per nomen æterni Dei et salvatoris nostri Filii ejus, cum tua victus invidia tremens gemensque discede: nihil tibi sit commune cum servo Dei *N.* jam cœlestia cogitanti, renunciaturo tibi ac sæculo tuo, et beatæ immortalitati victuro. Da igitur honorem advenienti Spiritui sancto, qui ex summa cœli arce descendens, perturbatis fraudibus tuis, divino fonte purgatum pectus, id est sanctificatum Deo templum et habitaculum, perficiat: ut ab omnibus penitus noxiis præteritorum criminum liberatus, hic servus Dei gratias perenni Deo referat semper, et benedicat nomen ejus sanctum in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ *Exorcismus super masculum tantum, sine* Oremus.

Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus, in nomine Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti: ut exeas et recedas ab hoc famulo Dei *respice, N.* Ipse enim tibi imperat maledicte, damnate, atque damnande, qui pedibus super mare ambulavit, et Petro mergenti dextram porrexit.

Sequatur adjuratio.

Ergo maledicte. *Ut supra.*

Hæc sequens oratio dicatur super feminam tantum, sine Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus.

Deus cœli, Deus terræ, Deus angelorum, Deus archangelorum, Deus patriarcharum, Deus prophetarum, Deus apostolorum, Deus martyrum, Deus confessorum, Deus virginum, Deus omnium bene viventium, Deus cui omnis lingua confitetur et omne genu flectitur, cœlestium, terrestrium, et infernorum: te invoco, Domine, super hanc famulam tuam *respice, N.* ut perducere eam digneris ad gratiam baptismi tui.

¶ *Sequatur adjuratio super feminam.*

Ergo maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam, et da honorem Deo vivo et vero: et da honorem Jesu Christo Filio ejus et Spiritui sancto: et recede ab hac famula Dei *N.* quia istam sibi Deus et dominus noster Jesu Christus ad suam sanctam gratiam et benedictionem, fontemque baptismatis, dono Spiritus sancti vocare dignatus est. Et hoc signum sanctæ cru✠cis,

Hic faciat sacerdos signum crucis in fronte infantis cum pollice suo, dicens:

quod nos fronti ejus damus, tu maledicte diabole nunquam audeas violare. Per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et sæculum per ignem.

Resp. Amen.

¶ *Item super feminam tantum dicitur sequens oratio, sine* Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus.

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, Deus qui tribus Israel de Ægyptiaca servitute liberasti, et per Moysem famulum tuum de custodia mandatorum tuorum in deserto monuisti, et Susannam de falso crimine liberasti: te supplex deprecor, Domine, ut

liberes et hanc famulam tuam, *respice, N.* et perducere eam digneris ad gratiam baptismi tui.

Sequatur adjuratio.

Ergo maledicte. *Ut supra.*

Exorcismus super feminam tantum, sine Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus.

Oratio.

Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus, per Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum: ut exeas et recedas ab hac famula Dei, *respice, N.* Ipse enim tibi imperat maledicte, damnate, atque damnande, qui cæco nato oculos aperuit, et quatriduanum Lazarum de monumento suscitavit.

Sequatur adjuratio.

Ergo maledicte. *Ut supra.*

Exinde tam super masculos quam super feminas dicantur orationes sequentes, sine Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus.

Hic faciat sacerdos crucem cum pollice in fronte infantis: tenensque manus super caput ejus dicat.

Æternam ac justissimam pietatem tuam deprecor, Domine, sancte Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, auctor luminis et veritatis: respice super hunc famulum tuum *vel* hanc famulam tuam, *respice, N.* ut digneris illum *vel* illam illuminare lumine intelligentiæ tuæ. Munda eum, *vel* eam, et sancti✠fica: da ei scientiam veram, ut dignus *vel* digna efficiatur accedere ad gratiam baptismi tui: teneat firmam spem, consilium rectum, doctrinam sanctam, ut aptus *vel* apta sit ad percipiendam gratiam baptismi tui. Per Christum dominum nostrum.[10]

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[10] After this in the York manual is appointed the gospel, "*secundum Matthæum:* In illo tempore: oblati sunt Jesu parvuli," &c.

Sine Oremus. *Oratio sequatur.*

Nec te latet, sathana, imminere tibi pœnas: imminere tibi tormenta: imminere tibi diem judicii: diem supplicii sempiterni: diem qui venturus est velut clibanus ardens: in quo tibi atque universis angelis tuis æternus superveniet interitus. Et ideo pro tua nequitia damnate atque damnande, da honorem Deo vivo et vero: da honorem Jesu Christo Filio ejus: da honorem Spiritui sancto paraclito: in cujus nomine atque virtute præcipio tibi (quicunque es) spiritus immunde, ut exeas et recedas ab hoc famulo Dei, *vel* ab hac famula Dei, *respice, N.* quem, *vel* quam hodie idem Deus et dominus noster Jesus Christus ad suam sanctam gratiam et benedictionem, fontemque baptismatis vocare dignatus est: ut fiat ejus templum per aquam regenerationis, in remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum. In nomine ejusdem domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et sæculum per ignem.

Resp. Amen.

℄ *His dictis dicat sacerdos:*[11]

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

℄ *Evangelium secundum Matthæum.*

In illo tempore. Oblati sunt Jesu parvuli: ut manus ejus imponeret et oraret. Discipuli autem ejus increpabant eos. Jesus autem ait illis: sinite parvulos et nolite prohibere eos venire ad me: talium est enim regnum cœlorum. Et cum imposuisset eis manum, abiit inde.[12]

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[11] The pontifical omits the benediction, simply directing, "*Hiis dictis dicat episcopus evangelium secundum usum Sarum.* In illo tempore." *Pontif. Sar.*

[12] "Post evangelium sacerdos

¶ *Deinde spuat sacerdos in sinistra manu: et tangat aures et nares infantis cum pollice suo dextro de sputo dicendo ad aurem dextram:*

Effeta: quod est adaperire:

ad nares:

in odorem suavitatis,

ad aurem sinistram:

tu autem effugare, diabole: appropinquabit enim judicium Dei.

¶ *Postea dicat sacerdos compatribus et commatribus una cum omnibus circumstantibus, ut ipsi dicant ad invicem:*

Pater noster.

Et Ave Maria.

Et Credo in Deum.

Quas etiam ipse sacerdos dicat cunctis audientibus, videlicet modeste et distincte sic.

Pater noster qui es in cœlis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra: sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus: et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen.

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terræ: et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum: qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine: passus sub

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porrigat librum puero ad osculandum." Rubr. *Manual. Ebor.*, followed by the prayer "Nec te latet," &c.

Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus: descendit ad inferna: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis: ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dextram Dei Patris omnipotentis: inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos. Credo in Spiritum sanctum: sanctam ecclesiam catholicam: sanctorum communionem: remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam æternam. Amen.

¶ *His dictis faciat sacerdos signum crucis in manu dextra infantis, interrogato ejus nomine, ita dicens:*[13]

N. Trado tibi signaculum[14] domini nostri Jesu Christi in manu tua dextra: ut te signes, et te de adversa parte repellas, et in fide catholica permaneas, et habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.[15]

Postea introducat catechumenum per manum dextram in ecclesiam, interrogato nomine ejus, dicens:

N. Ingredere in templum Dei: ut habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Benedictio[16] Fontis.

QUANDO[17] *fuerit fons mandandus et de pura aqua renovandus (quod sæpe debet fieri propter aquæ corruptionem), tunc dicatur sequens litania:*

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[13] "*Deinde accipiens episcopus infantem per manum dextram, et interrogato ejus nomine dicat. N.* Trado tibi," &c. *Pontif. Sar.*

[14] "Accipe signaculum." *Man. Ebor.*

[15] "*Deinde cum ipsa manu signet eum dicens.* Signo te signaculo Domini nostri Jesu Christi in manu tua dextra, ut te conservet contra adversarios tuos, ut habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. *His dictis ducat episcopus catechumenum in ecclesiam,*" &c. *Pontif. Sar.*

[16] From hence to the end of the litany is omitted in the pon-

et benedicatur fons modo sequenti. Et nota quod aqua baptismatis non debet transmutari, propter honorem alicujus potentis, nisi fuerit corrupta.[18]

¶ *Nota quod aqua benedicta fontium in vigilia paschæ et pentecostes non aspergatur per ecclesiam: sed aliqua alia aqua benedicta more solito sicut in aliis dominicis diebus.*

¶ *Memorialiter retinendum est quod aqua benedicta circa fontes est aspergenda, sed non aqua fontium: sive chrismate fuerit sanctificata sive non. Quoniam in decretis originalibus sanctorum patrum Clementis et Paschasii paparum, invenitur quod aqua fontium non est aqua aspersionis; sed baptismatis et purgationis. Unde caveat unusquisque sacerdos ne illa aqua tangat, nisi quos baptizat: quia non est opus ut baptizati iterum baptizentur. Cesset ergo*

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tifical, which directs, "*Ad fontes benedicendos dicat episcopus isto modo.* Dominus vobiscum," &c., as below, after the litany.

The Bangor pontifical begins here also the office of the blessing of the font; which follows in that manuscript the "Benedictio ignis sabbato sancto."

[17] "Infans in fontem si stercoret ejice lympham. Si tantum mingat non moveatur aqua." Rubr. *Man. Ebor.*

[18] The separate hallowing of the font was permitted in the first Prayer book of Edward the sixth; with the rubric: "*The water in the font shall be changed every month once at the least, and afore any child be baptized in the water so changed, the priest shall say at the font these prayers following.* O most merciful God," &c. But the form was struck out at the next revision in 1552.

The prayer of which the first words have been quoted above was followed in the form of 1549 by four short petitions which are still retained in the reformed office of public baptism. These petitions were not taken from any of the old English rituals; and it is a curious difficulty to find out from whence they came. Two or three (among them particularly the first) are similar to some portions of a proper preface, a "*Contestatio fontis*," printed by Mabillon from a Gallican sacramentary; *De liturg. Gall.* p. 363.

stultæ præsumptionis aspersio tam in vigilia paschæ et pentecostes, quam in omnibus aliis diebus: quia per ecclesiam Romanam cunctis Christianis sub pœna excommunicationis majoris est inhibita.

¶ *Hic incipit litania hoc modo.*

¶ *Goodfaders and goodmoders,*[19] *and all that be here about, say in the worshyppe of god and our ladye and of the .xii. apostellys, a* Paternoster, *and* Ave Maria, *and* Credo in Deum. *That we maye so mynyster thys blessyd sacrament, that it maye be to the pleasure of almyghty god, and confusyon of our gostly enmy, and saluacyon of te sowle of thys chylde.*

¶ *Godfaders and godmodyrs, of thys chylde whe charge you, that ye charge the fader and te moder to kepe it from fyer and water and other perels to the age of .vij. yere: and that ye lerne or seyt belerned the* Paternoster, Ave Maria, *and* Credo, *after the lawe of all holy churche, and in all goodly haste to be confermed of my lorde of the dyocise or of hys depute, and that the moder bryngе agen the crysom at hyr puryfycation, and washe your hande or ye departe the chyrche.*

¶ *Sequuntur litaniæ.*

Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison.
Christe audi nos.
Pater de cœlis Deus: miserere nobis.
Fili redemptor mundi Deus: miserere nobis.

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[19] This charge is not given in the York manual; and in the Douay editions of the Sarum use the first clause is placed before the Pater noster, p. 12.

Spiritus Sancte Deus : miserere nobis.
Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus : miserere nobis.
Sancta Maria : ora pro nobis.
Sancta Dei genitrix : ora.
Sancta virgo virginum : ora.
Sancte Michael : ora.
Sancte Gabriel : ora.
Sancte Raphael : ora.
Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli Dei : orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines : orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti patriarchæ et prophetæ : orate.
Sancte Petre : ora.
Sancte Paule : ora.
Sancte Andræa : ora.
Sancte Johannes : ora.
Sancte Jacobe : ora.
Sancte Thoma : ora.
Sancte Philippe : ora.
Sancte Jacobe : ora.
Sancte Matthæe : ora.
Sancte Bartholomæe : ora.
Sancte Simon : ora.
Sancte Thadæe : ora.
Sancte Matthia : ora.
Sancte Barnaba : ora.
Sancte Marce : ora.
Sancte Luca : ora.
Omnes sancti apostoli et evangelistæ : orate.
Omnes sancti discipuli et innocentes : orate.
Sancte Stephane : ora.
Sancte Line : ora.
Sancte Clete : ora.

Sancte Clemens: ora.
Sancte Fabiane: ora.
Sancte Sebastiane: ora.
Sancte Cosma: ora.
Sancte Damiane: ora.
Sancte Prime: ora.
Sancte Feliciane: ora.
Sancte Dionysi cum sociis tuis: orate.
Sancte Victor cum sociis tuis: orate.
Omnes sancti martyres: orate pro nobis.
Sancte Sylvester: ora.
Sancte Leo: ora.
Sancte Hieronyme: ora.
Sancte Augustine: ora.
Sancte Isidore: ora.
Sancte Juliane: ora.
Sancte Gildarde: ora.
Sancte Medarde: ora.
Sancte Albine: ora.
Sancte Eusebi: ora.
Sancte Swithune: ora.
Sancte Birine: ora.
Omnes sancti confessores: orate pro nobis.
Omnes sancti monachi et eremitæ: orate.
Sancte Maria Magdalena: ora pro nobis.
Sancta Maria Ægyptiaca: ora pro nobis.
Sancta Margareta: ora.
Sancta Scolastica: ora.
Sancta Petronella: ora.
Sancta Genovefa: ora.
Sancta Praxedis: ora.
Sancta Sotheris: ora.
Sancta Prisca: ora.
Sancta Tecla: ora.

Sancta Afra : ora.

Sancta Editha : ora.

Omnes sanctæ virgines : orate pro nobis.

Omnes sancti : orate.[20]

His itaque completis, accedat sacerdos ad fontium consecrationem, quæ semper dicatur sine cantu: nisi tantum in vigilia paschæ et pentecostes: tunc enim cantata secunda litania incipiat sacerdos ad hunc locum, et cantet modesta voce hoc modo.[21]

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, adesto magnæ pietatis tuæ mysteriis, adesto sacramentis: et ad recreandos novos populos quos tibi fons baptismatis parturit, spiritum adoptionis emitte: ut quod nostræ humilitatis gerendum est mysterio [*ministerio ?*] tuæ virtutis impleatur effectu. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus.

¶ *Hic mutat vocem more præfationis, sic.*

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

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[20] The York manual adds many of the short supplications which commonly follow in the litany; such as "Propitius esto: parce nobis, Domine: ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine. Ab insidiis diaboli, libera nos, Domine," &c.

[21] "Finita litania stet sacerdos versus ad orientem dum benedicit fontem hoc modo dicens." Rubr. *Man. Ebor.*

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere: Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Qui invisibili potentia, sacramentorum tuorum mirabiliter operaris effectum. Et licet nos tantis mysteriis exequendis simus indigni: tu tamen gratiæ tuæ dona non deserens, etiam ad nostras preces aures tuæ pietatis inclines. Deus, cujus Spiritus super aquas inter ipsa mundi primordia ferebatur, ut jam tunc virtutem sanctificationis aquarum natura conciperet. Deus, qui nocentis mundi crimina per aquas abluens, regenerationis speciem in ipsa diluvii effusione signasti: ut unius ejusdemque elementi mysterio et finis esset vitiis et origo virtutibus. Respice quæsumus, Domine, in faciem ecclesiæ tuæ, et multiplica in ea regenerationes tuas: qui gratiæ tuæ affluentis impetu lætificas civitatem tuam, fontemque baptismatis aperis, toto orbe terrarum gentibus innovandis, ut tuæ majestatis imperio sumat unigeniti tui gratiam de Spiritu sancto.

Hic dividat sacerdos aquam manu sua dextra in modum crucis sic.[22]

Qui hanc aquam regenerandis hominibus præparatam arcana sui luminis admixtione fœcundet: ut sanctificatione concepta, ab immaculato divini fontis utero in novam renata creaturam progenies cœlestis emergat. Et quos aut sexus in corpore, aut ætas discernit in tempore, omnes in unam pariat gratia mater infantiam. Procul ergo hinc jubente te, Domine, omnis spiritus immundus abscedat: procul tota nequitia diabolicæ fraudis absistat. Nihil hic loci habeat contrariæ virtutis admixtio: non insi-

[22] "*Sic dicendo.*" *Pontif. Sar.*

diando circumvolet: non latendo surrepat: non inficiendo corrumpat. Sit hæc sancta et innocens creatura libera ab omni impugnatoris incursu, et totius nequitiæ purgata discessu. Sit fons vivus, aqua regenerans, unda purificans. Ut omnes hoc lavacro salutifero diluendi, operante in eis Spiritu sancto, perfectæ purgationis indulgentiam consequantur. Unde bene✠dico te creatura aquæ per Deum vi✠vum: per Deum ve✠rum: per Deum sanc✠tum: per Deum qui te in principio verbo separavit ab arida: cujus Spiritus super te ferebatur, qui te de paradiso manare[23] fecit, et in quatuor fluminibus totam terram rigare præcepit.

Hic ejiciat sacerdos aquam de fonte per .iiij. partes cum manu dextra in modum crucis.

Qui te in deserto amaram suavitate indita fecit esse potabilem, et sitienti populo de petra produxit. Bene✠dico te per Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum: qui te in Chana Galileæ signo admirabili, sua potentia convertit in vinum. Qui pedibus super te ambulavit, et a Johanne in Jordane in te baptizatus est. Qui te una cum sanguine de latere suo produxit: et discipulis jussit ut credentes baptizarentur in te dicens: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Pa✠tris, et Fi✠lii, et Spi✠ritus Sancti.

Hic mutet sacerdos vocem quasi legendo et dicat sic.

Hæc nobis præcepta servantibus tu Deus omnipotens clemens adesto, tu benignus aspira.

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[23] The Bangor MS. omits *fecit;* there is an erasure in the copy of the Sarum pontifical, showing that the usual reading had been corrected. The Leofric missal also omits *fecit;* which nevertheless is in all the copies of the manual which I have examined. The York manual has "jussit."

Hic aspiret sacerdos ter in fontem in modum crucis, deinde dicat legendo sic:

Tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito: ut præter naturalem emundationem quam lavandis possunt adhibere corporibus, sint etiam purificandis mentibus efficaces.

Hic stillet sacerdos[24] *de cereo in fontem in modum crucis: postea dicat more præfationis:*

Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus Spiritus sancti, totamque hujus aquæ substantiam regenerandi fœcundet effectu.

Hic dividat sacerdos aquam cum cereo in fonte in modum crucis dicendo:

Hic omnium peccatorum maculæ deleantur: hic natura ad imaginem tui condita, et ad honorem sui reformata principii, cunctis vetustatis squaloribus emundetur.

Hic tollat sacerdos cereum de aqua: et tradat clerico a quo ibidem contra fontes teneatur: donec finiatur tota præfatio.

Ut omnis homo hoc sacramentum regenerationis ingressus, in veræ innocentiæ novam infantiam renascatur.

¶ *Hic mutet vocem quasi legendo.*

Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum: qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ *Non procedatur ulterius in hoc officio in vigilia paschæ et pentecostes, nisi aliquis esset baptizandus: ut postea patebit. Nota quod in vigilia paschæ et*

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[24] "Hic cereus liquescat in aquam in modum crucis, et ponatur postea in aquam in modum crucis." Rubr. *Man. Ebor.*

pentecostes consecratis fontibus non infundetur oleum neque chrisma nisi adsint aliqui qui debeant baptizari: sed linteamine mundo cooperiantur: et usque ad completorium paschæ vel pentecostes reserventur: ut si forte his diebus aliquis baptizandus advenerit, fœcundatis tum et sanctificatis fontibus olei et chrismatis infusione, baptizetur.

Post hæc mittat sacerdos oleum sanctum cum ipsa billione quæ est in vase ejus in aquam: signum crucis faciens et dicens:

Conjunctio olei unctionis et aquæ baptismatis. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Simili modo mittat chrisma dicens:[25]

Fœcundetur et sanctificetur fons iste hoc salutifero chrismate salutis. In nomine Patris, &c.

Postea mittat simul oleum cum chrismate modo supradicto dicens.

Conjunctio chrismatis sanctificationis, et olei unctionis, et aquæ baptismatis. In nomine Patris, etc.[26]

Ritus Baptizandi.[27]

TUNC portetur infans ad fontes ab his qui eum suscepturi sunt ad baptismum:[28] *ipsisque eundem*

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[25] "*Deinde mittat episcopus crisma in fontem crucem faciendo de ipso chrismate cum ipsa billione, quæ est in vase chrismatis sic dicendo.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Sar.*

[26] "*Et notandum quod in vigil. pasch. et pent. quando benedicitur aqua in fonte baptismali, post benedictionem illa aqua non debet aspergi per ecclesiam.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Sar.*

[27] "Notandum est quod in vigiliis paschæ et pentecostes consecratis fontibus non infundetur oleum neque chrisma, nisi assint aliqui qui debeant baptizari." Rubr. *Manual. Ebor.*

[28] "Non licet alium suscipere, qui non est baptizatus vel confirmatus." *Theodore's penitential*, Stubbs, vol. 3. p. 193.

puerum super fontes inter manus tenentibus, ponat sacerdos manum dextram super eum: et interrogato ejus nomine, respondeant qui eum tenent N. Item sacerdos dicat.[29]

N. Abrenuncias Sathanæ. *Respondeant compatrini et commatrinæ,* Abrenuncio. *Item sacerdos.* Et omnibus operibus ejus. ℟. Abrenuncio. *Item sacerdos.* Et omnibus pompis ejus. ℟. Abrenuncio.

Postea tangat sacerdos pectus infantis et inter scapulas de oleo sancto, crucem faciens cum pollice dicens:

N. Et ego linio te *super pectus* [30] oleo salutis, *inter scapulas.* In Christo Jesu domino nostro: ut habeas vitam æternam, et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Deinde interrogato nomine ejus, respondeant N. Item sacerdos:

N. Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cœli et terræ? *Respondeant:* Credo. *Item sacerdos:* Credis et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum, dominum nostrum, natum et passum? *Respondeant.* Credo. *Item sacerdos:* Credis et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam,

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[29] These interrogations and renunciations are in the three pontificals above mentioned, and in the Leofric MS. There is considerable variety however in the arrangement and number of the prayers which precede and follow them.

[30] "With the holy oil ye shall mark heathen children on the breast, and betwixt the shoulders, in the middle, with the sign of the cross, before ye baptize it in the font water: and when it comes from the water, ye shall make the sign of the cross on the head with the holy chrism. In the holy font, before ye baptize them, ye shall pour chrism on the figure of Christ's cross, and no one may be sprinkled with the font water after the chrism is poured in." Ælfric, *Epist.* "Quando dividis chrisma;" Thorpe, tom. 2. p. 391.

sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, et vitam æternam post mortem? *Respondeat:* Credo.

Tunc interroget sacerdos nomen infantis[31] *dicens:* Quid petis? *Respondeant:* Baptismum. *Item sacerdos:* Vis baptizari? *Respondeant:* Volo.

Deinde accipiat sacerdos infantem per latera in manibus suis, et interrogato nomine ejus, baptizet eum sub trina mersione,[32] *tantum sanctam Trinitatem invocando, ita dicens:*

N. Et ego baptizo te in nomine Patris. *Et mergat eum semel versa facie ad aquilonem, et capite versus orientem:* et Filii: *et iterum mergat semel versa facie ad meridiem:* et Spiritus sancti: Amen. *Et mergat tertio recta facie versus aquam.*

Tunc patrini accipientes infantem de manibus sacerdotis levent eum[33] *de fonte. Ut autem surrexerit*

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[31] "*Tunc interroget episcopus:* Quid petis?" Rubr. *Pontif. Sar.* "*Et accipiet presbyter eos a parentibus eorum, et baptizantur primi masculi deinde feminæ, sub trina mersione, sanctam Trinitatem semel invocando, ita dicendo: interrogatio.* Vis baptizari?" &c. *Missal. Leofric.*

[32] Immersion seems from the Anglo-saxon time down to the middle of the sixteenth century to have always been the rule in the church of England. To quote one canon only, part of the eleventh of the synod at Chalchhythe, in the year 816: "Sciant etiam presbyteri, quando sacrum baptismum ministrant, ut non effundant aquam sanctam super capita infantium, sed semper mergantur in lavacro: sicut exemplum præbuit per semetipsum Dei Filius omni credenti, quando esset ter mersus in undis Jordanis." *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 171.

[33] The canon that parents should not lift their own children from the font appears to have been not obligatory in the age of Leofric; in his book is (see note 31) "accipiet presbyter a parentibus," and here after the baptism there is no rubric specifying any others who should receive the children. Nor is there any notice of this in the Winchester pontifical or the Bangor; except that this latter has, before some prayers preceding, "*et eo tenente infantem a quo suscipiendus est.*" The Sarum pontifical is as

a fonte, accipiat sacerdos de chrismate cum pollice suo dicens: Dominus vobiscum: *et*, Oremus.

Oratio. Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum: *Hic liniat infantem de ipso chrismate cum pollice in vertice in modum crucis, dicens.* Ipse te linit chrismate salutis in eodem Filio suo domino nostro Jesu Christo in vitam æternam.

¶ *Postea induatur infans veste chrismali, sacerdote interrogante nomen ejus, et dicente sic:* [34]

N. Accipe vestem candidam, sanctam, et immaculatam, quam perferas ante tribunal domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut habeas vitam æternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[35]

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express as the manual: "*Tunc patrini et matrinæ accipientes infantem de manibus episcopi,*" &c.

The following rubric is in an early English pontifical, imperfect, and preserved in the library of the university of Cambridge (Ll. 2. 10): "*Et tertio dicens* et Spiritus sancti, Amen. *Tunc projiciens eum in fontem discedat: dans locum hominibus eum elevandi de fonte, dicens orationem hanc:* Deus omnipotens," &c.

It is many years since I saw this manuscript and made the memorandum; since then, Dr. Henderson has examined it and gives it to the twelfth century, and probably to the diocese of Ely; *York pontifical*, p. xxxj. Surtees society.

[34] Rabanus Maurus, writing in the ninth century, says: "Post baptismum traditur Christiano vestis candida designans innocentiam et puritatem Christianam, quam post ablutas veteres maculas studio sanctæ conversationis immaculatam servare debet, ad præsentandum ante tribunal Christi. Cuncti vero renati albis induuntur vestibus, &c. Tegitur enim post sacram unctionem caput ejus mystico velamine, ut intelligas se diadematis regni et sacerdotalis dignitatis portatorem, juxta apostolum: Vos estis, inquit, genus regale et sacerdotale," &c. *De instit. cleric.* lib. 1. cap. 30.

[35] The Bangor pontifical omits all mention of the putting on of this vestment. The Leofric says: "*Tunc posito chrismali in capite baptizati, dicat sacerdos:* accipe," &c. The St. Swithun MS.: "*Et vestiatur infans vestimentis ejus, dicente presbytero.*" The Sarum

¶ *Licitum est autem pannum chrismalem secundo linire chrismate, et super alium baptizatum immittere,*

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pontifical specifies the name again, as in the text.

Mr. Warren has printed a form of baptism which may (at least portions of it) have been used in England before the coming of St. Augustine and, in some parts of the country, for a long while afterwards. My space will permit me to make only some brief extracts, and the student will do well to refer to the book itself and to the very useful notes of the editor. In this place a remarkable variation occurs; the manuscript is the famous "Stowe missal," probably of the ninth century or even earlier:—

". . . quam perferas ante tribunal domini nostri ihesu christi.

"*Res.* Accipio et perferam.

"*Et dicit prespiter,*

"Aperiatur manus pueri.

"*Dicens,*

"Signum crucis christi ✠ accipe in manum tuam dexteram, et conservet te in vitam æternam.

"*Res.* Amen.

"*Tunc lauantur pedes ejus, accepto linteo accepto.* [sic in MS.?]

". . . Si ego lavi pedes uestras dominus et magister vester," &c. *Celtic liturgy*, p. 217.

Another very curious and important Irish missal is in Corpus Christi library at Oxford. This also has been edited by Mr. Warren; the date however (judging from internal evidence) is possibly some centuries earlier than he is inclined to suggest. I write with hesitation in differing from Mr. Warren; but even if the manuscript is not older than the eleventh century, it may represent in many parts a far more ancient use.

The manuscript contains an Ordo baptismi, at the beginning of which the priest, having asked the name, is directed to sign the child after this manner:—

"*Deinde faciat crucem cum pollice in fronte ejus ita dicendo :*

"Signum crucis salvatoris domini nostri jesu christi in frontem tuam pono.

"*Deinde faciat crucem ita dicens :*

"Signum crucis, &c., in pectus tuum pono.

"Signo oculos tuos ut videas claritatem dei.

"Signo nares tuas ut percipias odorem . . . sanitatis.

"Signo os tuum ut confitearis ei.

"Signo cor tuum ut credas in eum.

"Signaculum dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti qui te sanum et integrum faciet omni tempore vitæ tuæ tibi trado ut nullam habeat diabolus portionem in te, sed trinitas divina regat te in vitam æternam." *Missale vetus Hibern.* p. 193.

tamen ad communes usus non debet pannus ille assumi: sed ad ecclesiam reportari et in usus ecclesiæ reservari.[36]

Deinde quæsito nomine ponat cereum ardentem in manu infantis dicens:[37]

N. Accipe lampadem ardentem et irreprehensibilem: custodi baptismum tuum, serva mandata, ut cum venerit dominus ad nuptias, possis ei occurrere una cum sanctis in aula cœlesti: ut habeas vitam æternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ *Si episcopus adest, statim eum confirmari oportet: et postea communicari si ætas*[38] *ejus id deposcat, sacerdote dicente:*

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[36] It would seem that these chrysoms formed a part of the small revenues of a parish church, being kept and lent on occasions of baptisms to people too poor to provide decent ones for themselves. In the odd collection of miscellaneous matter called *Arnold's chronicle*, which has been already referred to, we find an entry in "the valew and stynt of the benefyce of saint Magnus at London brydge yerly to the person" as follows: "¶ Cresoms and preuy tythes." But no sum is added as having been paid for that year, 1494. Fol. lxxxvj. *b.*

[37] This is omitted in the Leofric MS. The Bangor pontifical has: "*Hic detur lampas a sacerdote dicente.*" In the St. Swithun book: "Hic a sacerdote lampas detur." In the Sarum pontifical: "Deinde interroget episcopus iterum nomen infantis, dando ei candelam in manu sua dextra, dicens."

The *Ordynarye of crysten men* has a translation of a great part of the form of baptism, with an exposition. Preceding it is a woodcut which shows the priest putting a candle in the child's hand, as he is held over the font by the godparents.

[38] The Leofric MS. says nothing about confirmation, but directs, immediately after the putting on of the vestment, "*Deinde communicetur a presbytero ita dicendo:* Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, qui regenerasti famulum tuum, *vel,* famulam tuam, ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, quique dedisti ei remissionem omnium peccatorum, tribue ei continuam sanitatem ad agnoscendam unitatis tuæ veritatem. Per." The Bangor pontifical makes no mention of either the communion of the newly-baptized or the confirma-

Corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi, custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.

℄ *Si infans sit, injungatur patri et matri ut conservent puerum ab igne et aqua et omnibus aliis periculis usque ad ætatem septem annorum, et si ipsi non faciant, patrini et matrinæ tenentur. Item et commatribus injungatur ut doceant infantem* Pater noster, *et* Ave Maria, *et* Credo in Deum, *vel doceri faciant: et quod chrismale deferatur ad ecclesiam, et quod confirmetur quam cito episcopus advenerit circa partes per septem miliaria.*[39] *Deinde dicatur hoc sequens evangelium super infantem, si placuerit,*[40]

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tion. In the Sarum pontifical we have, as may be expected: "*Deinde incontinenter episcopus eum confirmet, et postea communicet, si ejus ætas id deposcat, dicendo sic:* Corpus Domini," &c.

[39] The York manual adds here a short office, "Ad baptizandum infirmum in necessitate."

A MS. manual in the library of the British museum (Bibl. reg. MS. 2. A. xxi), which formerly belonged to the parish church of "Southchardeforth" in the diocese of Winchester, has the English form of the above charge to the godfathers and godmothers: "I comaunde ow godfadre and godmodre, on holy chirche bihalue, that ye chargen the fadur and the modur of this child, that they kepe this child in to the age of seuen ȝere, that hit beo from fier and water, and from alle other mischeues and periles that myȝten to him byfalle, throuȝ miskepinge, and also that ye or they techen his ryȝte bileue, hure *pater noster*, and hure *Ave Maria* and hure *Credo*, or do him to beo tauȝte; and also that ye wasthe youre hondes, or ye gon out of chirche; and also that hit beo confermed the next tyme that the byssop cometh to contre: and al this doeth in peyne of corsynge;" fol. 15.

So in the old instructions for a parish priest:—

"The pater noster and þe crede,
Preche þy paresch þou moste nede,
Twyes or þryes in þe yere,
To þy paresch hole and fere,
Teche þem þus and byd hem say,
Wyþ gode entent euery day,
Fader oure þat art in heuene," &c.

Cotton MS. Claudius A. ij. fol. 132.

[40] "*Post hæc adducatur infans ad magnum altare, et ibi dicat episcopus super eum, si placet, hoc*

quia secundum doctores maxime valet pro morbo caduco.

Dominus vobiscum. ℞. Et cum spiritu tuo. *Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Marcum.* ℞. Gloria tibi Domine.

In illo tempore. Respondens unus de turba dixit ad Jesum: Magister, attuli filium meum ad te, habentem spiritum mutum, qui ubicunque eum apprehenderit, allidit illum, et spumat et stridet dentibus et arescit. Et dixi discipulis tuis ut ejicerent illum, et non potuerunt. Qui respondens eis dixit: O generatio incredula, quamdiu apud vos ero, quamdiu vos patiar? afferte illum ad me. Et attulerunt eum. Et cum vidisset illum, statim spiritus conturbavit eum, et elisus in terram volutabatur spumans. Et interrogavit patrem ejus. Quantum temporis est ex quo ei hoc accidit? At ille ait. Ab infantia. Et frequenter eum in ignem et in aquas misit, ut eum perderet. Sed si quid potes, adjuva nos misertus nostri. Jesus autem ait illi. Si potes credere, omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Et continuo exclamans pater pueri cum lachrymis aiebat, credo, Domine, adjuva incredulitatem meam. Et cum videret Jesus concurrentem turbam, comminatus est spiritu immundo dicens illi. Surde et mute spiritus, ego tibi præcipio exi ab eo, et amplius ne introeas in eum. Et clamans et multum discerpens eum, exiit ab eo. Et factus est sicut mortuus, ita ut multi dicerent: quia mortuus est. Jesus autem tenens manum ejus elevavit eum,[41] et surrexit. Et cum introisset in domum, discipuli ejus secreto in-

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evangelium: Respondens unus. *Postea dicatur evangelium:* In principio." Rubr. *Pontif. Sar.*

[41] "Hic dicat sacerdos commatri ut surgat cum puero." Rubr. *Man. Ebor.*

terrogabant eum: Quare nos non potuimus ejicere eum? Et dixit illis: Hoc genus in nullo potest exire, nisi in oratione et jejunio.

Et postea dicatur hoc evangelium sequens sub forma predicta, videlicet: secundum Johannem.

In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est, in ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum. Et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebræ eam non comprehenderunt. Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Johannes. Hic venit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine, ut omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera, quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus. Qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt. Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis: Et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre: plenum gratiæ et veritatis.[42]

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[42] The missal of Robert, archbishop of Canterbury (1050), a manuscript of the eleventh century in the public library at Rouen, has the following office immediately after the "Benedictio fontis:"—

"*Oratio ad baptizandum infirmum:*

"Medelam tuam, &c.

"*Benedictio aquæ ad baptizandum infirmum. Postquam eum catechizaveris, benedices aquam hanc his verbis,*

"Exorcizo te creatura aquæ, &c.

"*Baptizas et linis eum de chrisma in cerebro:*

¶ *Notandum est quod quilibet sacerdos parochialis debet parochianis suis formam baptizandi in aqua pura, naturali, et recenti, et non in alio liquore,*[43] *frequenter in diebus dominicis exponere, ut si necessitas emergat sciant parvulos in forma ecclesiæ baptizare, proferendo formam verborum baptismi in lingua materna, distincte et aperte et solum unica voce, nullo modo iterando verba illa rite semel prolata, vel similia super eundem:*[44] *sed sine aliqua additione, subtractione, interruptione, verbi pro verbo positione, mutatione, corruptione, seu transpositione sic dicendo:* I cristene the *N.* in the name of the Fadir, and of the Sone, and of the holy Gost. Amen. *Vel in*

"Baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

"*Postea tangis eum de chrisma in caput:*

"Deus omnipotens Pater domini nostri Jesu Christi qui regeneravit, &c.

"*Postea communicas eum et dicis orationem hanc:*

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui regenerare dignatus es," &c. *York manual*, Surtees society, p. 134. See also p. 137 for a similar office from another manuscript, but entitled "ad catechizandum infirmum."

These offices must be referred back to a time when heathen people put off their baptism until serious sickness or approaching death came on them.

[43] "Thou oughtest to knowe that wyth wyne, wyth veriuse [verjuice], rose water, olyue water, or wyth ony other lycour, it may not be baptysed, but it byhoueth that it be natural water." *Doctrinal of Sapience*, cap. lviij.

[44] The very curious edition of the *Treatise of good living and good dying* printed by Verard observes, "Et yt suffys that thayr be oon parson qwych says the sayd forme. For maynay shold not say yt, ageyns sum fowlysh women qwych in baptysyn in cas of necessyte says iiij. or v. at onys the sayd wordys."

A large full-page woodcut precedes in this edition the explanation of the sacrament of baptism. The priest stands pouring water over the head of the child, who is being held over the font by the god-parents.

This *Treatise of good living and good dying* is to be found in manuscript, and was printed in an abridged translation from the French by Caxton.

lingua latina, sic: Ego baptizo te, *N.* in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen. *Aquam super parvulum spargendo, vel in aquam mergendo ter vel saltem semel.*

¶ *Et si puer fuerit baptizatus secundum illam formam, caveat sibi unusquisque ne iterum eundem baptizet: sed si hujusmodi parvuli convalescant, deferantur ad ecclesiam et dicantur super eos exorcismi et cathechismi, cum unctionibus et omnibus aliis supradictis præter immersionem aquæ et formam baptismi, quæ omnino sunt omittenda, videlicet:* Quid petis: *et ab hinc usque ad illum locum quo sacerdos debeat parvulum chrismate linire.*

¶ *Et ideo si laicus baptizaverit puerum, antequam deferatur ad ecclesiam, interroget sacerdos diligenter quid dixerit, et quid fecerit: et si invenerit laicum discrete et debito modo baptizasse, et formam verborum baptismi ut supra in suo idiomate integre protulisse, approbet factum, et non rebaptizet eum. Si vero dubitet rationabiliter sacerdos utrum infans ad baptizandum sibi oblatus prius in forma debita fuerit baptizatus vel non, debet omnia perficere cum eo sicut cum alio quem constat sibi non baptizatum, preterquam quod verba sacramentalia essentialia proferre debeat sub conditione, hoc modo dicendo:*

N. Si baptizatus es, ego non rebaptizo te: sed si nondum baptizatus es, ego baptizo te: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen. *Sub aspersione vel immersione ut supra. Et est observandum tam de baptismate quam de confirmatione, quod quandocunque dubitatur, sine dubitatione conferantur, quia non dicitur iteratum quod nescitur fuisse collatum, et ideo sub forma prædicta baptizantur*

infantes expositi, de quorum baptismo probabiliter dubitatur, sive inveniantur cum sale vel sine sale.

¶ *Notandum est etiam quod si infans sit in periculo mortis, tunc primo introducatur ad fontem, et postea baptizetur incipiendo ad hunc locum:* Quid petis. *Et si post baptismum vixerit habeat totum residuum servitium supra dictum.*

¶ *Hoc autem in quolibet sacramento observetur, quod quandocunque periculum videtur imminere, semper incipiatur ad substantiam illius sacramenti et postea residuum compleatur si poterit.*

¶ *Non licet aliquem baptizare in aula, camera, vel aliquo loco privato, sed duntaxat in ecclesiis in quibus sunt fontes ad hoc specialiter ordinati, nisi fuerit filius regis vel principis, aut talis necessitas emerserit propter quam ad ecclesiam accessus absque periculo haberi non potest.*

¶ *Presbyter autem si poterit semper habeat fontem lapideum, integrum, et honestum, ad baptizandum: si autem nequiverit, habeat vas conveniens ad baptismum, quod aliis usibus nullatenus deputetur, nec extra ecclesiam deportetur.*

¶ *Solemnis baptismus celebrari solet in sabbato sancto paschæ et in vigilia pentecostes, et ideo pueri nati infra octo dies ante pascha, vel infra octo dies ante pentecosten, debent reservari ad baptizandum in sabbato sancto paschæ vel in vigilia pentecostes, si commode et sine periculo valeant reservari. Ita quod tempore medio inter nativitatem puerorum et hujus baptismi, perfectum recipiant catechismum, solaque diebus prædictis baptismi consecratis fontibus sit immersio facienda.*

¶ *Alii autem qui aliis anni temporibus nati extiterint, incontinenter cum nati fuerint, propter*

mortale periculum quod sæpe pueris imminet improvisum, baptizentur.[45]

¶ *Veruntamen in sabbato sancto paschæ, et in vigilia pentecostes peracta consecratione fontium non infundatur oleum neque chrisma, nec ulterius in officio baptismi procedatur, nisi forte aliquis adsit baptizandus, sed linteamine mundo cooperiantur, et usque ad completorium paschæ et pentecostes reserventur, ut si forte his diebus aliquis baptizandus advenerit, fœcundatis et sanctificatis fontibus olei et chrismatis infusione baptizetur.*

¶ *Et nota quod de aqua sanctificata in fonte baptismali in sabbato sancto paschæ et in vigilia pentecostes, nunquam debet populus aspergi post aquæ chrismationem nec ante.*

¶ *Non licet laico vel mulieri aliquem baptizare, nisi in articulo necessitatis. Si vero vir et mulier adessent ubi immineret necessitatis articulus baptizandi puerum, et non esset alius minister ad hoc magis idoneus præsens, vir baptizet et non mulier, nisi forte mulier bene sciret verba sacramentalia et non vir, vel aliud impedimentum subesset.*

¶ *Similiter pater vel mater non debet proprium filium de sacro fonte levare nec baptizare, nisi in extremæ necessitatis articulo, tunc enim bene possunt sine præjudicio copulæ conjugalis ipsum baptizare, nisi fuerit aliquis alius præsens qui hoc facere sciret et vellet.*

¶ *Præterea vir et uxor non debent simul levare puerum alterius de sacro fonte. Nulli religiosi debent admitti in patrinos, quod etiam de monialibus observandum est.*

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[45] Cf. Constit. Johan. Peckham., Wilkins, *Concilia*, 2. 36.

¶ *Viri et mulieres qui suscipiunt pueros de baptismo constituuntur eorum fidejussores apud Deum, et ideo frequenter debent eos admonere cum adulti fuerint, seu disciplinæ capaces, ut castitatem custodiant, justitiam diligant, caritatem teneant, et ante omnia orationem dominicalem et salutationem angelicam, symbolum fidei, et signaculo scilicet crucis se signare, eos docere tenentur.*

¶ *Unde non debent recipi in patrinos nec admittantur nisi qui sciunt prædicta, quia patrini debent instruere filios suos spirituales in fide, quod facere non possunt nisi ipsimet in fide prius instructi sint.*

¶ *Si baptizandus non poterit loqui, vel quia parvulus, vel quia mutus, vel quia ægrotans aut aliunde impotens, tunc debent patrini pro eis respondere ad omnes interrogationes in baptismo. Si autem loqui poterit, tunc pro seipso respondeat ad singulas interrogationes nisi ad interrogationes sui nominis tantum, ad quas semper patrini sui respondeant pro eo. Qui suscipiunt pueros de sacro fonte, non debent eos tenere coram episcopo in confirmatione, nisi cogente necessitate. Non plures quam unus vir et una mulier debent accedere ad suscipiendum parvulum de sacro fonte: unde plures ad hoc simul accedentes peccant faciendo contra prohibitionem canonis, nisi alia fuerit consuetudo approbata: tamen ultra tres amplius ad hoc nullatenus recipiantur.*

¶ *Monendi sunt etiam laici quod parvuli sui confirmati, tertia die post confirmationem deportentur ad ecclesiam: et frontes eorum per manus sacerdotis propter chrismatis reverentiam in baptisterio abluantur, et ligaturæ eorum tunc igne comburantur.*

¶ *Item nullus debet admitti ad sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi Jesu extra mortis arti-*

culum, nisi fuerit confirmatus, vel a receptione sacramenti confirmationis fuerit rationabiliter impeditus.

¶ *Non debet sacerdos parochialis esse sine chrismate: sed debet quilibet sacerdos parochialis a suo episcopo, non ab alio, in propria persona sua vel per alium sacerdotem, diaconum, vel subdiaconum, chrisma petere singulis annis ante pascha.*

Sacerdos qui de veteri chrismate ungit baptizatum (nisi in articulo necessitatis) deponendus est: et ideo debet omni die cœnæ Domini novum chrisma ab episcopo confici, et vetus removeri et concremari.

¶ *Item tam sacrum oleum quam chrisma sub fideli custodia clave adhibita debent observari, ne ad illa possit manus temeraria extendi ad aliqua nefaria exercenda.*

¶ *Nota quod tempore interdicti generalis licite possunt conferri baptismus et confirmatio, tam adultis quam parvulis, sed non cum pulsatis campanis neque alta voce.*

Confirmatio Puerorum.

Confirmatio Puerorum.[1]

IN primis dicat episcopus:[2]

Adjutorium nostrum. Sit nomen Domini, etc. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

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[1] "Confirmatio puerorum et aliorum baptizatorum." *Pontif. Sar.*

Some editions of the manual, for example that by Pynson, 1506, in the library at Stonyhurst and the Rouen edition by Richard Mercator, 1501, in the Bodleian have the title *Benedictiones episcoporum et suffraganeorum* before the *Confirmatio puerorum.*

In placing the order of confirmation after the form of administering holy baptism I have followed the arrangement of the Salisbury pontifical, and not of the manual. The last has this office towards the end of the volume, immediately preceding the benedictions and following the order of the burial of the dead. In fact, strictly, this order of confirmation was not a necessary part of the manual of the parish-priest; and was included usually in it for his instruction, and that he might have it at hand when confirmation was given.

For, although I remember no instance on record in England during the middle ages of confirmation by a priest, yet undoubtedly it was a question frequently argued whether, by delegation, a priest might confirm. Among the schoolmen and early ritualists there are great names on both sides. Practically, the doubt need never have arisen; for not only is a bishop by unanimous consent the ordinary minister of confirmation, but evidence of a case of permission to one of lower degree is wanting.

"Two thyngys" says the *Treatise of good living* "ar requyryd of the part of the mystyr [minister], that ys to understod that he be byshop, et that he haue dew et ryght intencyon to do y^t that holy chyrch understondys." Edit. Verard, sign K. j. *b.*

[2] It was not necessary that

Oremus.

Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos tuos[3] *vel* has famulas tuas ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, quique dedisti eis remissionem omnium peccatorum : immitte in eos septiformem spiritum, sanctum paraclitum, de cœlis. Amen.

Spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus. Amen.

Spiritum scientiæ et pietatis. Amen.

Spiritum consilii et fortitudinis. ✠ Amen.

Et imple[4] eos *vel* eas spiritu timoris Domini. ✠ Amen.

Et consigna eos *vel* eas signo sanctæ crucis ✠ : confirma eos *vel* eas chrismate salutis in vitam propitiatus æternam. Amen.

Et tunc episcopus petat nomen, et ungat pollicem chrismate:[5] *et faciat in fronte pueri crucem,*

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confirmation should be given in the church itself. A very old ordo printed by Hittorpius has this rubric: "*Pontifex ergo egreditur a fonte in sacrarium, habens ibi compositam sedem, vel in ecclesia ubi voluerit, et cum vestiti fuerint infantes, confirmet eos.*" The still earlier sacramentary of Gregory is to the same purpose. A fourteenth-century canon distinctly asserts, "Confirmatio fieri potest in domo, vel in campo." Concil. Benevent. tit. v.

At confirmations boys were always separated from the girls; and the old rule observed of bringing the boys up first to the bishop. A council at Milan in the sixteenth century says, "et quod veteris ritus est, primum mares, deinde fœminæ confirmentur."

The time of day as well as the place for confirmation was to be decided by the bishop. Amalarius speaks of it as given generally in his time at the third hour; *De eccles. off.* lib. iv. cap. 29. In cases of sickness the candidate might be confirmed at any hour and in his own house.

[3] "Hunc famulum tuum," *Sarum pontif.*, which is the better reading.

[4] "Adimple," *Pontif. Sar.*

[5] Although the use of chrism in confirmation was forbidden by the first Prayer book of Ed-

dicens:[6] Consigno te *N.* signo crucis ✠ et confirmo te chrismate salutis. In nomine Patris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.[7]

Pax tibi.[8] Oremus.

Oratio. Deus, qui apostolis tuis sanctum dedisti Spiritum, quique per eos eorum successoribus cæte-

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ward the sixth, the sign of the cross was continued. After a prayer comes the following:—

"*Minister.* Sign them, O Lord, and mark them to be thine for ever, by the virtue of thy holy cross and passion. Confirm and strengthen them with the inward unction of thy holy Ghost, mercifully unto everlasting life. Amen.

"*Then the Bishop shall cross them in the forehead and lay his hand upon their heads, saying,*

"*N.* I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and lay my hand upon thee: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. Amen."

[6] "Tunc inquisito nomine cujuslibet et pollice chrismate uncto, pontifex faciat crucem in singulorum fronte dicens, 'Signo te,'" &c. Rubr. *Pontif. Sar.*

[7] "*Sequatur psalmus.* Ecce sic benedicetur homo qui timet Dominum. Benedicat tibi Dominus ex Syon, ut videas bona Jerusalem omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ. Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

"*Vers.* Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.

"*Resp.* Et renovabis faciem terræ." *Pontif. Sar.*

[8] The Roman pontifical now in use adds here, "deinde leviter in maxilla cædit." This is not (I believe) to be found in any English pontifical; nor indeed is it a rite of high antiquity. On the other hand, some foreign manuscripts have a corresponding rubric; and Durand, without any note of its being unusual in his time, gives this explanation: "primo, ut tenacius memoriæ teneat se hoc sacramentum recepisse: secundo, quia hoc sacramentum datur baptizato ad robur fidei . . . quod ulterius coram quocumque confiteri nomen non erubescat." *Div. off.* lib. 6. lxxxvi.

This explanation is open to some doubt although admitted into the catechism; and the "alapa," which is the term used for the slight touch given by the bishop upon the cheek, more probably is to be connected with the words spoken at the same moment, "Pax vobis;" and to be regarded as a substitute for the kiss of peace, girls and women being among the number of those confirmed.

risque fidelibus tradendum esse voluisti : respice propitius ad nostræ humanitatis famulatum : et præsta, ut horum corda quorum frontes sacrosancto chrismate delinivimus, et signo sanctæ crucis consignavimus, idem Spiritus sanctus adveniens, templum gloriæ suæ dignanter inhabitando perficiat. Per Dominum : in unitate ejusdem.[9]

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[9] The benediction in the text having been given before according to the pontifical, that manuscript does not of course repeat it; but continues as follows:—

"Per Dominum in unitate ejusdem. Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus. Amen.

"*Et si ejus ætas id deposcat communicat eum episcopus, dicens:*

"Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.

"*Hoc facto injungatur ab aliquo sacerdote quod compatres et commatres orent aliquod certum pro statu domini episcopi, et pro animabus patris et matris, et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum, et quod tertia die vadant cum pueris ad ecclesiam ad chrismalia deponenda, et sic recedant in nomine Domini.*" *Pontif. Sar.*

The *chrismalia* were the linen bands tied across the foreheads of the newly confirmed; to which frequent reference is made in various diocesan English synods. For example, of Ægidius bishop of Sarum in 1256: "nec chrismalia debent alienari, nec in aliquos usus mitti debent, nisi in usus ecclesiæ." Of Quivil bishop of Exeter, 1287: "Confirmandi secum deferant ligaturas mundas latitudinis et longitudinis competentis, quas post confirmationem per triduum portare, deinde igne comburi præcipimus, et confirmatos ultra baptisterium per manus sacerdotis, vel saltem diaconi ablui." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 1. p. 713; tom. 2. p. 132.

In earlier ages the rule was seven and not three days. Various reasons were given. An old ordo says because the holy Spirit descended on the apostles seven days after the resurrection: Hugh St. Victor (who wrote in the twelfth century) because there are seven gifts of the Spirit one day should be dedicated to each; *de sacram.* lib. 2. vij. In practice, the custom of the county or the diocese was allowed; either seven days, or three, or one; or the chrism was wiped off carefully and with reverence

Ecce sic benedicetur omnis homo, qui timet Dominum.

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after it had dried, before leaving the church.

The large full-page woodcut in the Verard edition of *Good living and dying* shows the bishop confirming a row of children, and immediately, as he passes on, an attendant priest behind each child binds the fillet round his forehead.

These bands or fillets were not to be made of old linen. A constitution of bishop Cantilupe, 1240, orders, "provideant matres parvulorum, quod confirmandi qui mittuntur ad episcopum habeant ligamina novæ telæ." *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 667.

I have had some doubt whether I should adopt for the text the order as given in the manual, or in the pontifical to which it properly belongs. But I have not thought it desirable upon the whole to reject the manual; although the variations of the pontifical are undeniably of considerable importance, and certainly to be the rather chosen, as giving us the order of confirmation as performed at the time when the manuscript was written, now before me [1846]. But the manuals which I have examined of the succeeding century all agree in the form which is taken for the text. At any rate, the reader has both before him: and it is open to some doubt whether any alterations took place during the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The order of confirmation is very nearly the same according to the ancient Anglo-saxon ritual of Durham, which the student will find in the edition by the Surtees society, p. 119: "Oratio ad infantes consignandos."

The pontifical of archbishop Chichele (fifteenth century) in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge, adds the following:—

"*Et nota, quod non semper tenetur episcopus re-incipere vel iterare totum servitium pro quolibet puero sibi adveniente in via vel alibi; sed benedicere cuilibet puero sic:*

"Spiritus sanctus superveniat in te, et virtus altissimi custodiat te a peccatis.

"*Inquisito nomine pueri, dicat:*

"*N.* signo te, &c.

"*Si magna fuerit pausatio facta inter pueros sibi advenientes, tenetur re-incipere totum servitium.*

"*Item si confirmandus fuerit adultæ ætatis, et nescitur plane vel dubitatur verisimiliter utrum sit confirmatus vel non, primo confiteatur, et post, inquisito nomine illius, dicat,*

"Si es confirmatus, non te

Benedicat vos Dominus ex Sion : ut videatis bona Hierusalem omnibus diebus vestris.

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus : Pa✠ter, et Fi✠lius, et Spiritus ✠ sanctus. Amen.

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reconfirmo : si non es confirmatus, signo te," &c. This office is printed in the appendix to the York pontifical, published by the Surtees society.

The Greek and Latin fathers all agree that confirmation must not be repeated; and it is unnecessary to quote canons to the same effect.

Purificatio post Partum.

Ordo ad purificandum mulierem post partum ante ostium ecclesiæ.[1]

PRIMO sacerdos[2] *et ministri ejus dicant psalmos sequentes. ps.* Leuaui oculos meos. *ps.* Beati omnes. Gloria patri. Sicut erat.

Sequatur. Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera. Domine salvam fac ancillam tuam. Deus meus sperantem in te. Esto ei Domine turris fortitudinis. A facie inimici. Domine exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Oratio. Deus qui hanc famulam tuam de pariendi periculo liberasti, et eam in servitio tuo devotam esse fecisti, concede ut temporali cursu fideliter peracto, sub alis misericordiæ tuæ vitam perpetuam

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[1] The first rubric in the pontifical of archbishop Chichele (see p. 42, note) is, "*Primo induat se episcopus more duplicis festi in loco sibi præparato, et impositis capa cum mitra acceptoque baculo pastorali, procedat ad ostium ecclesiæ, præcedentibus ipsum aqua benedicta et duobus ceroferariis; et eundo cum ministris suis dicat psalmos sequentes:* Levavi," &c.

[2] "*Veniat sacerdos ad ostium ecclesiæ, et dicat mulieri, accipiens eam per manum:* Ingredere in templum Dei. *Postea dicat hunc psalmum:* Ad te levavi: *cum* Gloria Patri. Sicut erat. Kyrie eleison," &c. *Man. Ebor.*

"Mulier ad purificationem accedens, caput habeat secundum antiquam Angliæ consuetudinem coopertum velo albo, in manu portet candelam accensam, et sit media inter duas matronas." Note in the edition of the Sarum manual, at Douay, 1610.

et quietam consequatur: per Christum Dominum,[3] etc.

℄ *Tunc aspergatur mulier aqua benedicta: deinde inducat eam sacerdos per manum dextram in ecclesiam, dicens:*

Ingredere in templum Dei ut habeas vitam æternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[4]

℄ *Nota quod mulieres post prolem emissam, quandocunque ecclesiam intrare voluerint acturæ gratias, purificari possunt, et nulla proinde peccati mole gravantur: nec ecclesiarum aditus est eis denegandus, ne pœna illis converti videatur in culpam.*[5] *Si tamen*

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[3] "*Tunc surgat et eat ad locum ubi sedere debeat usque post missam. Peractaque missa surgat et reveniat ad eundem locum ubi prius, videlicet, ad gradus altaris: et ibi genuflectat ut sumat et recipiat absolutionem a sacerdote. Hoc modo dicat sacerdos.* Misereatur, &c. Absolutionem omnium peccatorum. *Deinde benedicat panem et det mulieri, quibus peractis eat ad propria.*" *Manuale Ebor.*

[4] The pontifical of archbishop Chichele shows a considerable variation:—

"Ingredere in templum Dei vivi, et ora filium virginis Mariæ, qui dedit tibi fecunditatem prolis pariendæ, ut concedat tibi vitam æternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

"*Deinde præcedat episcopus cum ministris suis mulierem sic introductam usque ad altare, ubi missa solemniter debet celebrari, et in eundo dicat cum ministris suis hos psalmos:*

"Deus misereatur.

"Beati omnes qui timent Dominum.

"*Et subjungat,* Kyrie eleison, &c. Pater noster. Salvam fac. Mitte ei. Esto ei. Domine exaudi.

"Dominus vobiscum.

"Et cum spiritu tuo.

"Oremus. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, majestatem tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut sicut unigenitus Filius tuus cum nostræ carnis substantia in templo est præsentatus, ita mulierem istam post partum purificatam tibi clementer morte devicta facias præsentari. Per Christum."

[5] The once famous old book called *Dives and Pauper* tells us, "Whan wymen be delyuered of ther childern they may entre holy chirche to thanke theyr god what tyme they wyll or may; the lawe letteth them not. . . . And therfore they that calle theym hethen wymen for the

ex veneratione voluerint aliquamdiu abstinere, devotionem earum non credimus improbandam. De purificatione post partum, cap. uno.

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tyme that they lye in be folys, and synne in case ful greuously." *Sixth commandment*, cap. xx.

It would seem, from a presentment made at an archdeacon's visitation in 1542, that in some dioceses about the beginning of the sixteenth century a day (whether of the week or the month is not stated) was appointed for churching the women of the parish. The complaint is, "Item, the day off purificacion off women, the said curat wyll nat tarry for them, bot say messe or thei come, all thought he doy [doth] knowe off yt; contrary to the usage off other curates." *Hale's precedents*, p. 119.

Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia.

Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia.

IN primis statuantur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiæ[1] *coram Deo, sacerdote,*[2] *et populo, vir a dextris mulieris, et mulier a sinistris viri.*

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[1] It appears almost needless to remind the reader of Chaucer's *Wife of Bath* :—

"She was a worthy woman all hire live,
Housbondes at the chirche dore had she had five." prol. 461.

And compare the account of the marriage in *The merchant's tale* :—

"Forth cometh the preest, with stole about his nekke,
And bade hire be like Sara and Rebekke;" &c. l. 9577.

There is a remarkable passage, in the evidence relating to Sir William Plumpton's second marriage, taken before the ecclesiastical court in the year 1472, which shows that marriages were not always performed at the door of the church, but at the door of the chancel; that is, I suppose, of the roodscreen: "Richard Clerk, parish clerk of Knaresborough, deposed—that very early in the morning of the said Friday came the said Sir William and Joan to the parish church of Knaresborough, . . . and, they standing at the door of the chancel of the said church within the said church, the aforesaid John Brown [then vicar] came from the high altar in his vestments and solemnised marriage between them in the presence of the deponent;" &c. *Plumpton correspondence*, pref. p. lxxvj.

Dower seems to have been made over to the bride, or the settlement of it completed, at the door of the church before the marriage service began. Cf. Selden, *Uxor Hebraica*. Payments of money were commonly made there; and the manumission of serfs also sometimes confirmed: two examples of which are in *The Bodmin gospels*, Brit. mus. add. MS. 9381.

[2] "Coram presbytero amictu, alba, fanone, et stola revestito." Rubr. *Miss. Herf.* This order, which I have not found in any other English use, is of no little importance in its bearing upon the much disputed question whether the maniple or *fano* was

¶ *Et sciendum est*[3] *quod licet omni tempore possint contrahi sponsalia, et etiam matrimonium quod fit privatim solo consensu: tamen traditio uxorum, et nuptiarum solemnitas certis temporibus fieri prohibentur: videlicet ab adventu Domini usque ad oct. epiph. et a septuagesima usque ad oct. paschæ: et a dominica ante ascensionem Domini usque ad oct. pentecostes. In octava die tamen epiph. licite possunt nuptiæ celebrari: quia non invenitur prohibitum, quamvis in octavis paschæ hoc facere non liceat. Similiter in dominica proxima post festum pentecostes licite celebrantur nuptiæ: quia dies pentecostes octavam diem non habet.*[4]

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allowed to be worn at any other office or service than that of the mass. Clearly it was especially ordered during the rite of marriage, according to the use of the church of Hereford. It would be no answer to say that the mass formed a part of or, more rightly, was always added to that office; because there is here no mention of the vestment, strictly proper to the celebration of the liturgy, namely, the chasuble: but on the contrary, the omission of the chasuble is equivalent to an order that it should not be worn. The priest would of course put it on at the fitting time, after the marriage was completed.

[3] The rubrics prefixed to this office in the York manual are generally the same in effect as those in the text; but variations of arrangement occur. For example, this rubric is placed in the middle and not at the beginning.

[4] Some old catholic possessor of a copy of Calvin's *Harmony of the Evangelists*, in the time of queen Elizabeth, has written on the fly-leaf :—

"The tymes when weddinge come in and goeth forth according to the coustome and tradition of o^r^ church. It always cometh in the 24th of the moneth of January and goeth forth the saturday before septuagesima.

"Item, it cometh ye morowe after little Ester's daye and goeth out the saturdaye next before rogation weeke.

"Item, it cometh the morrowe after Trinitie sonnday and goeth out the saturdaye next before advent sonnday, wch is alwayes the 4th sonndaye before Christes daye."

I quote the above the rather because of the odd term "little

Tunc interroget sacerdos banna[5] *dicens in lingua materna sub hac forma.*

Ecce convenimus huc fratres coram Deo, et angelis, et omnibus sanctis ejus, in facie ecclesiæ, ad conjungendum duo corpora, scilicet hujus viri et hujus mulieris, *Hic respiciat sacerdos personas suas*,[6] ut amodo sint una caro et duæ animæ in fide et in lege Dei, ad promerendam simul vitam æternam quidquid ante hoc fecerint. Admoneo igitur vos omnes, ut si quis ex vobis qui aliquid dicere sciat quare isti adolescentes legitime contrahere non possint, modo confiteatur.[7]

Ester's day" for low sunday; of which I do not remember another instance.

[5] The Sarum pontifical does not enter into any particulars of the banns; but directs after a rubric to the same effect as the *first* above: "*Tunc episcopus interroget banna, et postea dicat:* Admoneo vos omnes, ut si quis ex vobis est qui aliquid sciat, quare isti adolescentes legitime contrahere non possint; modo confiteatur."

[6] "Personas conjungendas." *Manuale Ebor.*

[7] The York manual gives the English form also: "Lo, bretheren, we are comen here before God and his angels, and all his halowes, in the face and presence of our moder holy chyrche, for to couple and to knyt these two bodyes togyder: that is to saye, of this man and of this woman. That they be from this tyme forthe, but one body and two soules in the fayth and lawe of God and holy chyrche: for to deserue euerlastyng lyfe, what somener (*sic*) that they haue done here before." Again: "I charge you on Goddes behalfe and holy chirche, that if there be any of you that can say any thynge why these two may not be lawfully wedded togyder at this tyme, say it nowe, outher pryuely or appertly, in helpynge of your soules and theirs bothe." And again, to the man and woman: "Also I charge you both, and eyther be your selfe, as ye wyll answer before God at the day of dome, that yf there be any thynge done pryuely or openly, betwene your selfe: or that ye knowe any lawfull lettyng why that ye may nat be wedded togyther at thys tyme: say it nowe, or we do any more to this mater."

A manuscript Salisbury manual in the British museum supplies

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the following form: "*Tunc interroget sacerdos banna hoc modo.* I aske þe banes betwen *I.* de *B.* and *A.* de *C.* ȝif any man or woman kan sey or put any lettenge of sybrede wherfor they may not, ne owght not, to come togedre be lawe of holy chirche, do us to wete.

"*Et postea dicat sacerdos.*

"Ecce hic convenimus fratres coram Deo, &c.

"Lo, syres, we been her gadered to gedere, befor god and alle his aungelis and his seyntis in þe sith of holi cherche, to knette to gedere two bodies, that is to say, þis man and þis woman, to þis ende þat from þis tyme forward þei moste be o flesch and two sowles in þe feith, and in þe lawe of God to deserve to gedere ever lastyng lyf, in amendement of that þat þei have do amys her before. Wherfore I amones ȝow alle, that ȝif þer be any of ȝow þat knowe any lawful lettyng whi þis man and þis woman mai not be wedded to gedere lawfulli, þat now he sey and knowliche it.

"*Eadem admonitio fiat ad virum et ad mulierem, ut siquid ab illis occulte actum fuerit vel siquid devoverint, vel aliquo modo de se noverint quare contrahere legitime non poterint tunc confiteantur.*

"Also I charge yow bothe man and woman, þat ȝif ony of yow have made any contract privyli before þis tyme or any a vow mad, or ony other cause knowe whi þat ȝe mai not come to gedere lawfulli, now knowliche it.

"*Si vero aliquis impedimentum aliquod proponere voluerit,* &c.

"*Post hec dicat sacerdos ad virum cunctis audientibus in lingua materna sic.*

"*N.* Wil tow have þis woman to þin wif, and loue here, and worschipe here, and hold hire and kepe here, in seknes and in hele, as an housbonde owyth to his wif, and alle oyer women to forsaken for hire, and only to drawe to hire as longe as ȝowre bothe lyves to gedere lasten?

"*Respondeat vir.* Volo.

"*Item dicat sacerdos ad mulierem:*

"*N.* Wil tow have þis man to þin housbonde to be buxum to hym, and serve hym and love hym and worschipe hym, and kepe hym in syknes and in hele, as a wif owith to do here housbonde, and alle oþer men forsaken for hym, and only to drawe to hym, as longe as ȝowre bothyn lyves togedere lasten?

"*Respondeat mulier.* Volo.

"*Deinde detur femina a patre suo,* &c. . . . *docente sacerdote:*

"I, *N*, take the *.N.* to myn wedded wyf, to have and to holde

devoverint, vel alio modo de se noverint quare legitime contrahere non possint: tunc confiteantur. Si vero aliquis impedimentum aliquod proponere voluerit: et ad hoc probandum cautionem præstiterit: differantur sponsalia quousque rei veritas cognoscatur. Si vero nullus impedimentum proponere voluerit: interroget sacerdos dotem mulieris, videlicet arrhas sponsales, et dicuntur arrhæ annuli vel pecunia vel aliæ res dandæ sponsæ per sponsum: quæ datio subarrhatio dicitur, præcipue tum quando fit per annuli dationem: et tunc vulgariter desponsatio vocatur. Non fidabit sacerdos nec consentiet ad fidationem inter virum et mulierem ante tertium dictum bannorum. Debet enim sacerdos banna in facie ecclesiæ infra missarum solemnia cum major populi adfuerit multitudo, per tres dies solemnes et disjunctas, interrogare: ita ut inter unumquemque diem solemnem cadat ad minus una dies ferialis.

¶ *Debet etiam sacerdos terminum præfigere competentem, infra quem qui voluerit et valuerit legitimum opponat impedimentum: et si contrahentes diversarum sint parochiarum, tunc in utraque ecclesia parochiarum illarum sunt banna interroganda.*

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from þis day forward, for beter for wers, for richere for porere, for fayrere for fowlere, in seknes and in helthe, til deth us departe, ȝif holy chirche it will ordeyne, and ther to I plithe þe myn trewthe.

"*Manum retrahendo. Deinde dicat mulier docente sacerdote:*

"I, *N*, take the .*N*. to myn wedded housbonde, to have and to holde from þis day forward, for beter for wers, for richer for porere, for fayrere for fowlere, in seknes and in hele, to be boner and buxum as a wyf owyd to hur husbond, till deth us departe, as holi cherche it wil ordeyne, and ther to I plith the myn trowthe. *Manum retrahendo.*"

The reader will remark the use of the word "worship" as referred to both parties in the above form in the vulgar tongue.

¶ *Si autem unius et ejusdem sint parochiæ, tunc tantum in ecclesia illius parochiæ banna interrogentur. Sacerdos vero qui contractibus matrimonialibus ante trinam solemnem interrogationem bannorum, ut prædictum est, præsumpserit interesse: pœnam suspensionis ab officio per triennium incurrit.*

¶ *Similiter sacerdos parochialis qui matrimonia clandestina in parochia sua prohibere contempserit, ab officio per triennium debet suspendi: et gravius est puniendus si culpæ qualitas id requirat. Prohibentur autem clandestina matrimonia duplici ratione: videlicet, ne sub spe matrimonii committatur fornicatio: et ne matrimonialiter conjuncti injuste separentur. Sæpe enim in matrimonio occulto alter conjugum mutat propositum, et dimittit reliquum probationibus destitutum et sine remedio restitutionis: et ideo prohibeant sacerdotes frequenter parochianos suos ne dent sibi fidem mutuo, sed coram publicis et honestis personis ad hoc constitutis. Quisquis etiam sacerdos, seu sæcularis seu regularis extiterit, qui solemnizationem matrimonii extra ecclesiam parochialem, vel capellam habentem jura parochiæ sibi ab antiquo competentia, absque diœcesani loci licentia speciali celebrare præsumpserit aut celebrationi interesse: ipso facto per annum integrum ab officio est suspensus.*

Postea dicat sacerdos ad virum cunctis audientibus in lingua materna sic.[8]

N. Vis habere hanc mulierem in sponsam, et eam diligere: honorare: tenere: et custodire sanam et

[8] "*N.* wylt thou haue this woman to thy wyfe: and loue her and kepe her, in syknes and in helthe, and in all other degrese be to her as a husbande sholde be to his wyfe, and all other forsake for her; and holde thee only to her, to thy lyues ende? *Respondeat vir hoc modo:* I wyll." *York Manual.*

infirmam, sicut sponsus debet sponsam: et omnes alias propter eam dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit?

Respondeat vir.

Volo.

Item dicat sacerdos ad mulierem hoc modo.[9]

N. Vis habere hunc virum in sponsum et ei obedire et servire: et eum diligere, honorare, ac custodire sanum et infirmum sicut sponsa debet sponsum: et omnes alios propter eum dimittere, et illi soli adhærere quamdiu vita utriusque vestrum duraverit?

Respondeat mulier.

Volo.[10]

Deinde detur femina a patre suo, vel ab amicis ejus: quod si puella sit discoopertam habeat manum: si vidua tectam: quam vir recipiat in Dei fide et sua servandam, sicut vovit coram sacerdote, et teneat eam per manum dextram in manu sua dextra, et sic det fidem mulieri per verba de præsenti, ita dicens docente sacerdote.[11]

I *N.* take the *N.* to my wedded wyf to haue

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[9] "N. Wylt thou haue this man to thy husbande, and to be buxum to him, serue him' and kepe hym, in sykenes and in helthe: and in all other degrese be vnto hym as a wyfe should be to hir husbande, and all other to forsake for hym: and holde thee only to hym to thy lyues ende? *Respondeat mulier hoc modo:* I wyll." *York Manual.*

[10] "*Deinde sacerdos:* Who gyues me this wyfe? *Deinde detur femina a patre suo,*" &c. *York Manual.*

[11] See the different forms of the espousals, according to the Hereford, York, and Bangor uses, in my preface to the *Ancient liturgies of the church of England.*

A manuscript missal of the use of Hereford in University college library, Oxford, adds here "*Verba sacramentalia sunt ista.*"

and to holde fro this day forwarde for better: for wors: for richere: for poorer: in sykenesse and in hele: tyl dethe vs departe if holy chyrche it woll ordeyne, and therto I plight the my trouthe.

manum retrahendo.

Deinde dicat mulier docente sacerdote.

I *N.* take the *N.* to my wedded housbonder to haue and to holde fro this day forwarde for better: for wors: for richer: for poorer: in sykenesse and in hele: to be bonere and buxum [12] in bedde and at the borde tyll dethe vs departhe if holy chyrche it wol ordeyne and therto I plight the my trouthe.

manum retrahendo.

Deinde ponat vir aurum: argentum: et annulum super scutum vel librum: et quærat sacerdos si annulus antea fuerit benedictus vel non: si dicatur quod non, tunc benedicat sacerdos annulum hoc modo cum Dominus vobiscum, *et cum* Oremus.

Oratio.[13]

Creator et conservator humani generis: dator gratiæ spiritalis: largitor æternæ salutis: tu, Domine, mitte benedictionem tuam super hunc annulum, *respice*, ut quæ illum gestaverit sit armata virtute cœlestis defensionis, et proficiat illi ad æternam salutem.

Per Christum.

Oremus.

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[12] Explained in the margin of the Sarum manual, printed at Douay in 1604, "bonnair and buxom;" "meeke," "obedient." Compare in the *Golden litany* (vol. 3. p. 264), "By thy infinite buxomness; have mercy on us."

[13] Here the Bangor pontifical begins the order of matrimony; preceded only by a few verses and responses. The York manual reverses the order of the two succeeding prayers.

Bene✠dic, Domine, hunc annulum, *respice*, quem nos in tuo sancto nomine benedicimus: ut quæcumque eum portaverit in tua pace consistat: et in tua voluntate permaneat: et in tuo amore vivat et crescat et senescat: et multiplicetur in longitudinem dierum. Per Dominum.

Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta super annulum.

¶ *Si autem antea fuerit annulus ille benedictus, tunc statim postquam vir posuerit annulum super librum, accipiens sacerdos annulum*[14] *tradat ipsum viro: quem vir accipiat manu sua dextera cum tribus principalioribus digitis, et manu sua sinistra tenens dexteram sponsæ docente sacerdote dicat:*[15]

With this rynge I the wed, and this gold and siluer I the geue, and with my body I the worshipe, and with all my worldely cathel I the endowe.

et tunc inserat sponsus annulum pollici sponsæ dicens.

In nomine Patris:

deinde secundo digito dicens.

et Filii:

deinde tertio digito dicens.

et Spiritus sancti.

deinde quarto digito dicens.

Amen.[16]

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[14] A manuscript manual, before quoted, in the library of the British museum (Bibl. reg. 2 A. xxj), of Salisbury use, has a curious addition here: "*et dato annulo dicat sacerdos:* Loo this gold and this siluer is leyd doun in signifyinge that the woman schal haue hure dower, thi goodes, ȝif heo abide aftur thy disces." fol. 17.

[15] See other forms at the putting on of the ring, in the preface to the ancient liturgies.

[16] "*Ad quartum,* Amen. Et ibi dimittatur secundum decretum.

"Quæro quæ est ratio ista

ibique dimittat annulum: quia in medico est quædam vena procedens usque ad cor: et in sonoritate argenti designatur interna dilectio, quæ semper inter eos debet esse recens.

¶ *Deinde inclinatis eorum capitibus, dicat sacerdos benedictionem super eos.*[17]

Benedicti ✠ sitis a Domino, qui fecit mundum ex nihilo. Amen.

Postea dicatur iste psalmus sequens hoc modo.

Manda, Deus, virtuti tuæ: confirma hoc Deus quod operatus es in nobis.

A templo tuo in Hierusalem: tibi offerent reges munera.

Increpa feras arundinis, congregatio taurorum in vaccis populorum: ut excludant eos qui probati sunt argento.

Gloria patri.

Sicut erat.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.[18]

Pater noster.

Et ne nos: sed libera.

Benedicamus Patrem, et Filium, cum Spiritu sancto. Laudemus et superexaltemus eum in sæcula.

Laudemus Dominum quem laudant angeli. Quem

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quare annulus ponatur in quarto digito cum pollice computato, quam in secundo vel tertio. Isidorus dicit, quia quædam vena extendit se a digito illo usque ad cor, et dat intelligere unitatem et perfectionem amoris." Rubr. *Missal. Herford.*

[17] This benediction is not in the York use; but a rubric follows the putting on of the ring: "*sacerdos interroget dotem mulieris, tunc si terra in dotem ei detur, procidat illa ad pedes viri, et dicat sacerdos hos versus:* Manda Deus," &c.

[18] "*Hic roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro eis dicens:* Pater noster. Et ne nos." Rubr. *Manual. Ebor.*

cherubin et seraphin Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus proclamant.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, sit vobiscum : et ipse vos conjungat : impleatque benedictionem suam in vobis. Qui vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ *Alia oratio cum*, Oremus.

Bene✠dicat vos Deus Pater, custodiat vos Jesus Christus, illuminet vos Spiritus sanctus. Ostendat Dominus faciem suam in vobis et misereatur vestri. Convertat Dominus vultum suum ad vos : et det vobis pacem : impleatque vos omni benedictione spirituali, in remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum ut habeatis vitam æternam, et vivatis in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[19]

Hic intrent ecclesiam usque ad gradum altaris : et sacerdos in eundo cum suis ministris[20] *dicat hunc psalmum sequentem.*

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[19] This prayer differs from the York manual; in which this rubric follows: "*Tunc aspergantur et introducantur in ecclesiam, et prostratis illis ante gradum altaris, sacerdos in eundo cum suis ministris dicat psalmum:* 'Beati omnes.'"

[20] An important book, the existence of which was unknown until a few years ago, was purchased for the British museum in 1876. It is entitled a psalter, and printed by Grafton "A° Domini MDXLIX mense Augustii." There can be no doubt that it was intended to accompany the common Prayer book of that year, and is well worth mentioning as a connecting link between the old rituals and the reformed Prayer book. I look upon it also as a mark of the desire at that time, so far as the views of the extreme party would allow, to retain much of

Beati omnes qui timent Dominum: qui ambulant in viis ejus. Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis: beatus es et bene tibi erit.

Uxor tuȧ sicut vitis abundans: in lateribus domus tuæ.

Ecce sic benedicetur homo: qui timet Dominum.

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the old catholic ceremonies and rites.

Although the book is called a psalter, which indeed comes at the beginning "after the translation of the great bible," the sixth part is that which constitutes its peculiar value; namely, "All that apperteigne to the clerkes to saie or syng, at the ministration of the communion, and when there is no communion. At matrimonie. The visitation of the sicke. At buriall of the dedde. At the purification of women. And the first daie of Lent." In this part nothing is printed which the minister has to say, except the beginnings of the prayers; but the whole of what has to be said by the clerk or clerks. The contemporary editions of the 1549 Book make no mention of a clerk in the offices for public and private baptism; these, therefore, are omitted. At matrimony all is omitted until the entry "into the quier" according to the rubric of the 1549 Book; and the office begins simply, "The clerke" (leaving no option to the priest alone) "shall saie or syng with the priest this psalme, Blessed are all they," &c.

Unless I am mistaken the 1549 Book does not refer to a clerk as being present; but this contemporary "order" does. The anthems are to be said by him.

"At the buriall of the dedde" the order begins, "The priest *or* clerke" may say or sing the three anthems, and also the anthem at the grave, "Man that is born of woman," &c. There are some other details noted. "At the communion when there is a buriall" the clerk shall say the introit and read the epistle.

"The first daie of Lent" begins, "After the cursses ended, the clerke with the priest shall saie this psalme, Have mercie," &c.

I am strongly of opinion that although the existence of this book has been so long forgotten it was nevertheless put forth under the sanction of authority. The unique copy (in the museum) bears marks of considerable usage, not only in the matins and evensong but in the occasional offices. On the last leaf is a "privilege" for Grafton only to print this "psalter."

Benedicat tibi Dominus ex Syon : et videas bona Hierusalem omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ.

Et videas filios filiorum tuorum : pacem super Israel.

Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

Sine nota, cum,

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.

¶ *Tunc prostratis sponso et sponsa*[21] *ante gradum altaris, roget sacerdos circumstantes orare pro eis, dicendo.*

Pater noster.

Et ne nos. Sed libera nos a malo.

Salvum fac servum tuum et ancillam tuam.

Deus meus sperantes in te.

Mitte eis, Domine, auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon tuere eos.

Esto eis, Domine, turris fortitudinis.

A facie inimici.

Domine exaudi.

Et clamor.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Benedicat vos Dominus ex Syon, ut videatis quæ bona sunt Hierusalem omnibus diebus vitæ vestræ : et videatis filios filiorum vestrorum, et pacem super Israel. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

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[21] The Hereford missal reverses the order of the benediction and verses which follow : directing, "*Tunc genuflectant vir et mulier coram altari : et sacerdos stans super gradum altaris verso vultu ad eos dicat :* Benedicat vos," &c. The York manual omits it ; passing on at once after the psalm to the sentences.

Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob, bene✠dic adolescentes istos: et semina semen vitæ æternæ in mentibus eorum: ut quicquid pro utilitate sua didicerint, hoc facere cupiant. Per Jesum Christum Filium tuum recuperatorem hominum. Qui tecum vivit et regnat Deus, &c.

Oremus. *Oratio.*[22]

Respice, Domine, de cœlis, et bene✠dic conventionem istam. Et sicut misisti sanctum angelum tuum Raphaelem ad Tobiam et Saram filiam Raguelis: ita digneris, Domine, mittere bene✠dictionem tuam super istos adolescentes: ut in tua voluntate permaneant: et in tua securitate persistant: et in amore tuo vivant et senescant: ut digni atque pacifici fiant et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Respice, Domine, propitius super hunc famulum tuum, *respice*, et super hanc famulam tuam: *respice*, ut in nomine tuo bene✠dictionem cœlestem accipiant: et filios filiorum suorum et filiarum suarum usque in tertiam et quartam progeniem incolumes videant, et in tua voluntate perseverent, et in futuro ad cœlestia regna perveniant. Per Christum.

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[22] Instead of this prayer and the following, the York use has: "Bene✠dicat et custodiat vos Deus Pater, ostendatque faciem suam vobis, et misereatur vestri: convertat Dominus vultum super vos, et det vobis pacem, impleatque vos Jesus Christus omni bene✠dictione spiritali in remissionem omnium peccatorum; ut habeatis vitam æternam in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. Oremus.

"Benedicti sitis a Domino qui creavit mundum ex nihilo: qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

Then follows the prayer, "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui primos parentes," &c.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui primos parentes nostros Adam et Evam sua virtute creavit, et in sua sanctificatione copulavit: ipse corda et corpora vestra sanctificet et bene✠dicat, atque in societate et amore veræ dilectionis conjungat. Per Christum.

¶ *Deinde benedicat eos dicens.*

Oremus.

Bene✠dicat vos Deus omnipotens omni bene✠dictione cœlesti, efficiatque vos dignos in conspectu suo: superabundet in vobis divitias gratiæ suæ, et erudiat vos in verbo veritatis, ut ei corpore pariter et mente complacere valeatis. Per Dominum nostrum.

¶ *Finitis orationibus quæ dicebantur super eos prostratos ad gradum altaris; et introductis illis in presbyterium, scilicet inter chorum et altare, ex parte ecclesiæ australi: et statuta muliere*[23] *a dextris viri, videlicet, inter ipsum et altare: incipiatur officium.*[24]

Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas atque indivisa Unitas: confitebimur ei quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam. *In tempore paschali finiatur hoc modo:* Alleluya. Alleluya. *ps.* Benedicamus Patrem, et Filium, cum sancto Spiritu. *Non dicatur ulterius.* Kyrie, *cum suis versibus dicatur. Ad missam servetur modus et ordo per omnia sicut in duplicibus festis hoc modo.*

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[23] "Post hæc introductis illis in chorum ecclesiæ, prosternentes eos ad gradum altaris, et statuta muliere ad dextram viri, cum .ij. cereis in manibus." Rubr. *Miss. Herf.*

[24] "Incipiatur missa sollemniter de Trinitate." Rubr. *Man. Ebor.*

"Tunc sponsis cereos ardentes tenentibus inchoat sacerdos missam ita dicens." Rubr. *Miss. Vet. Hibern.* p. 81. See above, p. 26. note 35. The candles were held until the offertory.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Istæ duæ orationes sequentes dicantur sub uno Oremus : *et sub uno* per Dominum.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti famulis tuis in confessione veræ fidei, æternæ Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere, et in potentia majestatis adorare unitatem : quæsumus, ut ejusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur adversis.

Alia oratio.[25]

Exaudi nos omnipotens et misericors Deus : ut quod nostro ministratur officio, tua benedictione potius impleatur. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum.

Ad Corinthios.

Fratres, Nescitis quoniam corpora vestra membra sunt Christi. . . . . Honorificate et portate Deum in corpore vestro.

Gradale.

Benedictus es Domine, qui intueris abyssos et sedes super cherubin.

℣. Benedicite Deum cœli, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.

Non repetatur gradale[26] *in missis sponsalium.*

Alleluya.

℣. Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum, et laudabilis in sæcula.[27]

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[25] This occurs in the Leofric MS. as an "oratio ad sponsas benedicendas." The second collect of the missa sponsalium, fol. 298. *b.*

[26] "Repetatur gradale." Rubr. *Miss. Herf.* A typographical error for "non repetatur"?

[27] The York manual passes on immediately to the gospel: nor does the Sarum pontifical notice the different verses, with the addition of the alleluya to each.

In tempore paschali erit secundum Alleluya : *unum ex istis sequentibus.* Alleluya.

℣. Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat in nobis de Jesu dum loqueretur nobis in via ? Alleluya.

℣. Surgens Jesus dominus noster stetit in medio discipulorum suorum, dixit, pax vobis. Alleluya.

℣. Surrexit Dominus et occurrens mulieribus ait, avete, tunc accesserunt et tenuerunt pedes ejus. Alleluya.

℣. In die resurrectionis meæ dicit Dominus, præcedam vos in Galilæam. Alleluya.

℣. Dicite in gentibus quia Dominus regnavit a ligno. Alleluya.

℣. Christus resurgens ex mortuis, jam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur.

Sequentia.

Alma chorus Domini nunc pangat nomina summi :
Messias, sother, emanuel, sabaoth, adonay :
Est unigenitus, via, vita, manus, homoousion :
Principium, primogenitus, sapientia, virtus :
Alpha, caput, finisque simul vocitatur, et est oo :
Fons et origo boni, paraclitus ac mediator :
Agnus, ovis, vitulus, serpens, aries, leo, vermis :
Os, verbum, splendor, sol, gloria, lux et imago :
Panis, flos, vitis, mons, janua, petra lapisque :
Angelus et sponsus, pastorque, propheta, sacerdos.
Athanatos, kyrios, theos panton craton, et Ysus :
Salvificet nos : sit cui sæcla per omnia doxa.[28]

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[28] Clichtoveus in his *Elucidatorium* omits *et* in the last line but one, and says, "Decantatur hic hymnus ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Parisiensis, in die sancto pentecostes ad vesperas." Daniel in his *Thesaurus hymnologicus* edits the same line "Athanatos, kyrios, theos, pantocrator, Jesus;" and says that

Secundum Matthæum.

In illo tempore: accesserunt ad Jesum scribæ et pharisei, ... Quod ergo Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.[29]

Credo in unum Deum.

Offertorium.

Benedictus sit Deus Pater, unigenitusque Dei Filius, sanctus quoque Spiritus, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam. *Tempore paschali:* Alleluya.

¶ *Nota quod ordo[30] thuris benedicti nunquam datur in ecclesia sponso et sponsæ. Inde est quod oblato thure benedicto super altare, si descendat thuribulus ad clericos vel ad laicos, aliud thus est apponendum et hominibus offerendum.*

Jesus must be taken as a trisyllable; but the Salisbury books by the addition of *et* supply the syllable. Four editions of the Sarum manual now before me all read "kyros, theon," but the pontifical has "kyrios, theos," which I have adopted in the text. The York manual omits the sequence; and the Hereford missal supplies us with another and curious reading: "athanatos, iskyros, theos," &c.

A full explanation of every title is given by Clichtoveus; and this hymn seems to have been peculiar to the Gallican and English churches. The York hymnal appoints it to be said at compline on whitsunday; the Salisbury at compline on that day and the three next also, "In die pentecostes et tribus diebus sequentibus;" and as the sequence at mass on the fifth day of the same week.

The Sarum horæ frequently contain among the suffrages "a deuowte inuocation and prayer of all the blessed names of oure lorde Jesu Christ, as we fynde them wryttyn in holy scripture." See edit. 1531, 4to., fol. cvij. and others.

[29] The York manual appoints: "*Secundum Johannem.* In illo tempore: Respondens Johannes, dixit: non potest homo accipere, &c. . . . ut et gaudium vestrum impleatur." Cap. 3. v. 27–29. The Hereford and Bangor uses agree with the Sarum.

[30] *Odor* is the reading of the Sarum missal, edit. 1492, and of the manuscript pontifical. The Hereford and Bangor uses have no corresponding rubric.

Secretum.

Sanctifica quæsumus Domine Deus noster, Trinitas sancta,[31] per tui sancti nominis invocationem hujus oblationis hostiam: et cooperante Spiritu sancto[32] per eam nosmetipsos tibi perfice munus æternum.

Aliud secretum.[33]

Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris, et hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus pro famulis tuis quos ad statum maturitatis et ad diem nuptiarum perducere dignatus es, placatus ac benignus assume. Per.

Præfatio. Qui cum unigenito.[34] *Post* Sanctus *prosternant se sponsus et sponsa in oratione ad gradum altaris, extenso super eos pallio,*[35] *quod teneant quatuor clerici*[36] *per quatuor cornua, in superpelliciis,*

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[31] "Trinitas sancta," omitted in the York manual and the Hereford missal.

[32] The Sarum pontifical, possibly by an error, omits "cooperante Spiritu sancto."

[33] The Hereford and Bangor missals agree with the Sarum use; but in the York manual we have "*Alia secreta sub una conclusione.* Suscipe quæsumus, Domine, pro sacra connubii lege munus oblatum, et cujus largitor es operis esto dispositor. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum," &c.

[34] This preface is that appointed also for Trinity sunday; and the reader will find it reprinted among the other prefaces in the third edition of the *Antient liturgies.*

[35] "One piece of Lucca cloth" was delivered for a veil to be spread over the heads of Richard de Arundell and Isabella le Despenser, at their nuptial mass. *Wardrobe accounts of Edward the second, Archæol.* vol. 26. p. 338.

[36] "Quod teneant duo clerici in superpelliceis." Rubr. *Man. Ebor.* "Quod teneant quatuor clerici ad dorsum eorum in superpelliceis." Rubr. *Miss. Herf.*

Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253, mentions a curious custom, seemingly obsolete long before his time. He is writing to the treasurer of Exeter, on the question of bastards becoming legitimate by

nisi alter eorum prius fuerit desponsatus et benedictus: quia tunc non habeatur pallium super eos nec dicatur sacramentalis benedictio, ut postea patebit. Deinde dicto: per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen. *Post* Paternoster *antequam dicatur* Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum, *facta fractione eucharistiæ more solito, dimissaque hostia in tribus fractionibus super patenam, dicat sacerdos conversus ad illos orationes sequentes sub tono lectionis: illis interim genuflectentibus sub pallio, sacerdote sic dicente:*

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Propitiare Domine supplicationibus nostris, et institutis tuis quibus propagationem humani generis ordinasti benignus assiste: ut quod te auctore conjungitur, te auxiliante servetur. Per Christum dominum nostrum.[37]

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the subsequent marriage of their parents: "Sicut notissimum est, jura etiam civilia natos ante matrimonium per subsequens matrimonium legitimos decernant et hæredes; et ut seniorum relatione didici, consuetudo etiam in hoc regno antiquitus obtenta et approbata, tales legitimos habuit et hæredes: unde in signum legitimationis, nati ante matrimonium consueverunt poni sub pallio super parentes eorum extento in matrimonii solemnizatione." Epist. 23.

The Irish manuscript already referred to (see above, page 26. note 35) has the following rubric at the offertory. The student must interpret for himself how far the end of it illustrates the custom referred to by the bishop of Lincoln: "*Postquam vero sponsi obtulerint cereos et oblationem suam dicente presbytero,* Orate fratres, *prosternantur super genua retro presbyterum, velentur pallio cum liberis suis.*" p. 82.

The existence of such a rubric would be a strong argument that—whatever the date of the particular manuscript may be—the office which it contains may be referred to a remote period, when adult converts to Christianity were by no means rare.

[37] This prayer is appointed in the Leofric MS. with a slight

Oremus.

Deus, qui potestate virtutis tuæ, de nihilo cuncta fecisti: qui dispositis universitatis exordiis, homini ad imaginem Dei facto ideo inseparabile mulieris adjutorium condidisti, ut fœmineo corpori de virili dares carne principium, docens quod ex uno placuisset institui, nunquam liceret disjungi. *Hic incipit benedictio sacramentalis:* Deus, qui tam excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti, ut Christi et ecclesiæ sacramentum præsignares in fœdere nuptiarum. *Hic finitur benedictio sacramentalis.*

Deus, per quem mulier jungitur viro et societas principaliter ordinata ea benedictione ✠ donatur, quæ sola nec per originalis peccati pœnam, nec per diluvii est ablata sententiam, respice, *Respice*, propitius super hanc famulam tuam quæ maritali jungenda est consortio, quæ se tua expetit protectione muniri. Sit in ea jugum dilectionis et pacis: fidelis et casta nubat in Christo: imitatrixque sanctarum permaneat feminarum. Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro: sapiens ut Rebecca: longæva et fidelis ut Sara. Nihil in ea ex actibus suis ille auctor prævaricationis usurpet: nexa fidei mandatisque permaneat uni thoro juncta, contractus illicitos fugiat, muniatque infirmitatem suam robore disciplinæ. Sit verecundia gravis, pudore venerabilis, doctrinis cœlestibus erudita. Sit fœcunda in sobole, sit probata et innocens: et ad optatam perveniat senectutem:

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variation at the commencement, for the first collect: "Exaudi nos Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, et instituis tuis," &c. That order repeats the same collect in this place, followed by the same benediction as in the text.

et videat filios filiorum suorum usque in tertiam et quartam progeniem: et ad beatorum requiem atque ad cœlestia regna perveniat. Per Dominum, &c. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Notandum quod hæc clausula, Deus qui tam excellenti mysterio *usque* Deus per quem mulier jungitur viro, *non dicatur in secundis nuptiis, vir enim aut mulier ad bigamiam transiens, non debet iterum a sacerdote benedici,*[38] *quia cum alia vice benedicti sint eorum benedictio non debet iterari: quia caro benedicta trahit ad se carnem non benedictam.*

¶ *Notandum est autem quod inhibitum est per capitulum extra de secundis nuptiis, ne benedictio detur in secundis nuptiis, quod etiam testatur beatus Ambrosius qui ait:* Primæ nuptiæ a Domino sunt constitutæ. Secundæ vero permissæ. Primæ nuptiæ sub omni benedictione celebrantur. Secundæ vero carent omni benedictione. *Sed quia plures benedictiones sunt in nuptiis celebrandis, scilicet in introitu ecclesiæ, et super pallium, et post missam, et super thorum in sero, quæro quæ benedictio sit iteranda in secundis nuptiis et quæ non.*

¶ *Sciendum est quod in hac oratione quæ sic incipit,* Deus qui potestate virtutis tuæ de nihilo cuncta fecisti, qui dispositis universitatis, etc. *tres sunt benedictiones ibidem quæ idem habent principium, scilicet,* Deus, *media autem est omittenda, scilicet ista,*

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[38] A constitution of Kirkham, bishop of Durham in 1253, orders: "Item, ne vir vel mulier ad bigamiam transiens a presbytero benedicatur; quia cum alia vice sint benedicti, benedictio eorum non debet iterari." Wilkins, *Concil.* tom. I. p. 707. For a relaxation of this rule, under certain circumstances, see the "new constitution" of archbishop Whittlesey cited in this rubric, a few lines below.

Deus qui tam excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti *usque* Deus per quem mulier jungitur viro et societas principaliter ordinata, &c. *quia in ista benedictione agitur de unitate Christi et ecclesiæ, quæ figuratur in primo matrimonio, non autem in secundo: unde apostolus ad Corinthios ait:* Erunt *inquit* duo in carne una: *et hoc notatur extra de bigamis, capitulo,* Debitum et si vir unius uxoris. *Et hoc pro primo matrimonio: sed qui adhæret pluribus dissolvit unitatem, vel fœdus unitatis, et ideo illa benedictio quæ agitur de unitate, scilicet,* Deus qui excellenti mysterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti, etc. *non dicetur in secundis nuptiis: et hoc est verum tam in viro bigamo quam in muliere vidua: quia caro benedicta trahit ad se carnem non benedictam: sed omnes aliæ benedictiones sive orationes debent dici indifferenter, secundum curiam Romanam et secundum Hostiensem et Thomam Aquinum et Morandum*[39] *doctorem. Et quæstio ista discussa erat et determinata in sacro palatio Romæ, et translata in Angliam per magistrum Johannem Haysted, anno domini millesimo cccxxi: et causa discussionis erat, quia multitudo sacerdotum tunc temporis ad sedem apostolicam convolarunt, causa obtinendi absolutionis beneficium pro benedictionibus in secundis nuptiis indiscrete collatis. Ideo super hoc statuitur constitutio nova,*[40] *quæ sic incipit:*

Concertationi antiquæ finem imponere cupientes, præsenti declaramus edicto, quod licet vir vel mulier ad bigamiam vel ad secundas nuptias transierint, benedici non debent cum fuerint alias benedicti:

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[39] "Morardum," *Sarum missal*, 1492, *Bangor missal* and *Sarum pontifical*, manuscripts.

[40] A constitution of archbishop Whittlesey, in 1370; see the *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 88.

quod si forsan alter eorum vel ambo essent ad secundas nuptias transeuntes et in primis nuptiis benedicti non fuerint, danda est eis benedictio in secundis nuptiis. Sane volentes antiquum rigorem temperare, concedimus quod presbyter qui secundas nuptias benedixerit scienter, ad sedem apostolicam ex hoc venire minime teneatur: sed a pœna suspensionis hoc casu a jure indicta, per suos possunt diœcesanos absolvi. Si qui vero juxta opinionem quorundam hactenus ex se non reputantes suspensos ordines quoslibet seu quævis beneficia receperint, diœcesani eorum a pœna suspensionis prædicta ipsos absolvere, ac super executione ordinum, et retentione beneficiorum hujusmodi cum eis valeant licite dispensare.

¶ *Hic quæri potest quare secundæ nuptiæ non benedicantur. Ad hoc dico quod secundum matrimonium, quamvis in se consideratum sit perfectum sacramentum, tamen in ordine ad primum sacramentum consideratum, aliquid habet defectum sacramenti, quia non habet plenam significationem: cum non sit una caro sicut est in matrimonio Christi et ecclesiæ: et ratione hujus defectus, benedictio a secundis nuptiis subtrahitur. Sed hoc est intelligendum quando secundæ nuptiæ sunt secundæ ex parte viri et ex parte mulieris tantum. Si enim virgo contrahat cum illo qui habuit aliam uxorem nihilominus nuptiæ benedicuntur. Salvatur et aliquo modo significatio in ordine ad primas nuptias, quia episcopus etsi unam ecclesiam habeat sponsam, habet tamen plures personas desponsatas in una ecclesia: sed anima non potest esse sponsa alterius quam Christi: quia cum dæmone fornicatur, nec est matrimonium spirituale: et propter hoc, quando mulier*

secundo nubit, nuptiæ non benedicuntur propter defectum sacramenti.[41]

¶ *Post hæc vertat se sacerdos ad altare et dicat:* Pax Domini, *et*, Agnus Dei.[42] *Tunc amoto pallio, surgant ambo sponsus et sponsa: et accipiat sponsus pacem a sacerdote, et ferat sponsæ osculans eam et neminem alium, nec ipse nec ipsa: sed statim diaconus vel clericus a presbytero pacem accipiens, ferat aliis sicut solitum est.*

Communio.

Benedicimus Deum cœli, et coram omnibus vi-

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[41] The rubric of the York manual throws much light upon the above: "Hostiensis dicit quod personæ nubentes non benedicuntur in secundis nuptiis, cujus ratio est, quia per carnem alias benedictam, caro non benedicta cum qua jungitur benedicitur. In commixtione enim corporum, per quam efficiuntur una caro vir et mulier, caro benedicta trahit ad se carnem non benedictam, sicut oleum sanctum trahit ad se oleum admixtum, non sanctum, et sic totum fit sanctum. Hic videtur Hostien. innuere quod nullæ secundæ nuptiæ sint benedicendæ, cujus contrarium dicit Thomas: sed huic antiquæ concertationi finem ponit constitutio Johan. xxij. ubi dicit quod si forsan alter eorum vel ambo ad secundas nuptias transeuntes in primis benedicti non fuerint, danda est benedictio in secundis. Quod sic intellige; si maritus viduæ mortuæ qui non fuit benedictus in secundis nuptiis illius viduæ, contraxerit cum relicta vidua quæ non fuit benedicta in secundis nuptiis mariti sui, debent nuptiæ eorum secundæ benedici, quia neuter prius fuerat in nuptiis benedictus. Item de jure antiquo capellanus benedicens secundas nuptias, suspensus erat ab officio et beneficio, et mittendus erat ad sedem apostolicam pro absolutione obtinenda: sed iste rigor hodie temperatur, ita quod presbyteri qui secundas nuptias benedixerint etiam scienter, ex hoc ad sedem apostolicam venire minime teneantur: sed a pœna suspensionis in hoc casu a jure indicta, per suos diœcesanos absolvi."

[42] A manuscript pontifical in the library of Magdalen college, Oxford, of the twelfth or thirteenth century, has in this place the rubric, "*Hic osculatar sponsus sacerdotem, et postea suam sponsam.*"

ventibus confitebimur ei, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam. *Tempore paschali.*

Alleluya. Alleluya.

Postcommunio.

Proficiat nobis ad salutem corporis et animæ, domine Deus, hujus sacramenti susceptio: et sempiternæ sanctæ Trinitatis ejusdemque individuæ unitatis confessio.

Alia postcommunio.

Quæsumus omnipotens Deus instituta providentiæ tuæ pio amore prosequere:[43] ut quos legitima societate connectis, longæva pace custodias.[44] Per Dominum.[45]

Post missam[46] *benedicatur panis et vinum, vel*

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[43] "Comitare," *Manual. Ebor.* Also in the Bangor and Sarum missals.

[44] This is the post-communion "*ad complendam*" appointed in the Leofric missal, which also reads "pio amore comitare."

Two prayers "*in sterilitate mulierum*" are added in the Leofric manuscript, after the post-communion:—"*Oratio.* Deus, qui anxietatem sterilium pie respiciens, in eis fœcunditatem etiam in sua desperatione mirabiliter operaris, concede propitius, ut famula tua *ill.* de percipienda sobole quod per se non valet, servi tui Gregorii mereatur precibus obtinere. Per.

"*Alia.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui maternum effectum nec in ipsa sacra semper virgine Maria quæ redemptorem nostrum genuit denegasti: concede propitius, ut ejusdem Dei genetricis precibus famula tua *ill.* genetrix esse mereatur. Per."

[45] "*Postea fiat benedictio cum calice, hoc modo:*

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini:

Qui fecit cœlum et terram:

Sit nomen Domini benedictum:

Ex hoc, nunc, et usque in sæculum.

"Oremus. *Benedictio.*

"Benedicat vos divina majestas et una Deitas, Pater ✠ et Filius ✠ et Spiritus ✠ sanctus. Amen." *Hereford missal.*

[46] The Bangor missal agrees with the Sarum use; but we

aliud quid potabile in vasculo, et gustent in nomine Domini, sacerdote dicente:

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Oratio.

Bene✠dic Domine panem istum, et hunc potum, et hoc vasculum, sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto et sex hydrias in Cana Galileæ: ut sint sani et sobrii atque immaculati omnes gustantes ex eis, salvator mundi: qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti, Deus.

℄ *Nocte vero sequente cum sponsus et sponsa ad lectum pervenerint, accedat sacerdos, et benedicat thalamum dicens:* Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Oratio.

Bene✠dic, Domine, thalamum istum et omnes habitantes in eo: ut in tua pace consistant et in tua voluntate permaneant: et in amore tuo vivant et senescant, et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum. Per Dominum.

℄ *Item*[47] *benedictio super lectum, cum* Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

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have the following in the York manual:—

"*Propter solemnitatem hujus sacramenti det sacerdos benedictionem cum calice: et deposita casula dicat sacerdos super eos sequentem orationem:*

"Dominus vobiscum.

"Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.

"Domine sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, te supplices exoramus: ut conjunctionem famulorum tuorum tua bene✠dictione fovere digneris propitius: ab eis, quæsumus omnipotens Deus, inimici insidiæ avertantur; et sanctitatem etiam in ipso conjugio imitentur, qui tua providentia conjungi meruerunt. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen."

[47] The Hereford and Bangor missals agree with the Sarum use; but the York manual again differs, as follows:—

"*Deinde aspergatur thalamus aqua benedicta, et dicatur antiphona:* Aspergas me. *Ps.* Miserere. *Vers.* Et secundum.

Bene✠dic Domine hoc cubiculum *Respice* qui non dormis, neque dormitas. Qui custodis Israel, custodi famulos tuos in hoc lecto quiescentes, ab omnibus phantasmaticis dæmonum illusionibus: custodi eos vigilantes, ut in præceptis tuis meditentur dormientes, et te per soporem sentiant, ut hic et ubique defensionis tuæ muniantur auxilio. Per Dominum.

Deinde fiat benedictio super eos in lecto, tantum cum Oremus.

Benedictio.

Bene✠dicat Deus corpora vestra et animas vestras: et det super vos benedictionem, sicut benedixit Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob. Amen.

¶ *Alia benedictio cum* Oremus.

Manus Domini sit super vos: mittatque angelum suum sanctum qui custodiat vos omnibus diebus vitæ vestræ. Amen.

¶ *Alia benedictio cum* Oremus.

Bene✠dicat vos Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus: qui trinus est in numero, et unus in nomine. Amen.

His peractis aspergat eos aqua benedicta, et sic discedat et dimittat eos in pace.

Versiculus. Ostende nobis, Domine. *Oratio.*

"Exaudi nos Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus: et mittere digneris sanctum angelum tuum de cœlis, qui custodiat, foveat, protegat, visitet et defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

"*Alia oratio.*

"Benedicat vos Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus: qui trinus est in numero, et unus est in nomine. Amen.

"*Tunc secundum morem antiquum thurificentur torus et thalamum.*"

Ordo ad visitandum infirmum.

De extrema Unctione.

Commendatio Animarum.

Ordo ad visitandum infirmum.[1]

IN primis induat se sacerdos superpellicio cum stola,[2] *et in eundo dicat cum suis ministris septem psalmos pœnitentiales, cum* Gloria Patri. *et cum antiphona,* Ne reminiscaris.

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[1] The following are the rubrics and prayers of the Bangor pontifical, which gives the office of the communion of the sick. The MS. is unhappily mutilated in one or two places:—

"*Ordo ad communicandum infirmum.*

"*Imprimis pulsetur campana capituli: et fratres qui possunt in ecclesia conveniant. Interim sacerdos præparet se omnibus sacerdotalibus indumentis, præter casulam: et duo fratres, pro cereis deportandis, et tertius pro cruce portanda, superpelliceis induantur. Fratribus vero in choro congregatis, et ministeriis ut dictum est præparatis: sacerdos accipiat calicem sine patena, et ponat in illo reverenter Corpus Christi, cooperiatque tobalia mundissima. Quo facto, hoc ordine procedant. Præcedat frater qui portat aquam benedictam, et sequitur qui portat crucem: tertio qui portant cereos: deinde sacerdos. Sequuntur alii fratres processionaliter, plane dicendo, ps.* Miserere mei Deus. *Quorum unus portat ampullam cum vino, et aliam cum aqua. Cum autem perventum fuerit ad locum ubi jacet infirmus, sacerdos intrans dicat:* Pax huic domui. *Resp.* Et omnibus habitantibus in ea. *Deinde sacerdos accedens ad ægrotum, et in modum crucis . . . cum aqua benedicta, deinde domum, dicendo:* Asperges . . . rere. (Miserere?) Gloria Patri. *Et repetatur* Asperges me. *Deinde immediate . . . adoret et osculetur crucem et dicat.* Confiteor. . . . (*Postea?*) *sacerdos dicat hanc orationem absolute.*

"*Oratio.*

"Dominus Jesus Christus, qui dixit discipulis suis, quæcunque ligaveritis super terram erunt ligata et in cœlo: et quæcunque solveritis super terram erunt soluta et in cœlo: de quorum numero quamvis indignos nos esse voluit: ipse te absolvat per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus peccatis tuis, quæcunque cogita-

Psalmus. Domine ne in furore tuo.
Gloria Patri et Filio. Sicut erat.

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tione, locutione, et operatione negligenter egisti, et a nexibus peccatorum absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna cœlorum. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto, &c.

"*Postea sacerdos elevet Corpus . . . (Domini in ?) calice, et infirmus adorans dicat semel tantum :*

"Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum: sed tantum dic verbo, et sanabitur anima mea.

"*Deinde sacerdos tradat ei eucharistiam dicens.*

"Accipe, frater, viaticum Corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te custodiat ab hoste maligno, et perducat ad vitam æternam.

"*Deinde abluat digitos super calicem cum vino et aqua, et propinet infirmo, nihil dicens. Post communionem dicat sacerdos :*

"Dominus vobiscum.

"Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, te fideliter deprecamur, ut accipienti fratri nostro sacrosanctum Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi Filii tui, tam corporis quam animæ prosit ad remedium sempiternum : per eundem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

"*Hiis peractis, eo ordine quo venerunt, simul in ecclesiam revertantur, dicendo ps.* Miserere mei Deus."

The above order of visitation is remarkable in many respects; nor have I found any other which agrees with it. The prayer, or rather absolution, "Dominus Jesus Christus" occurs in one of the many orders which Martene has edited, *de ecc. rit.* tom. 1. p. 322; but in this case it succeeds the rite of unction, not immediately precedes the communion. The MS. from which he took that office is said to be of about the tenth century. Again, p. 337, from a manuscript of the twelfth century.

A letter (printed by Wilkins) from archbishop Peckham to Anianus, the bishop for whom the Bangor pontifical was written, complains of much irregularity in the priests of the diocese of Bangor, and among other things orders: "Corporis vero dominici sacramentum cum reverentia debita conservetur, prout statutum est in ultimo concilio de Lambeth ; et reverenter cum tintinnabulo prævio, et accenso cereo vel candela, ad ægrotos in cuppa vel in decenti pyxide in manibus sacerdotalibus solenniter cum omni diligentia deportetur." *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 104.

From Martene's collection I take the following, the first rubric from a very ancient English order of visitation, in a pontifical said to be of the ninth century:—

"Dum invitati sacerdotes ad infirmum fuerint visitandi ungen-

Ps. Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates.
Gloria Patri.

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dique causa, qui eorum ad illud officium dignus jure censetur, induat se superhumerali, alba et stola, cum phanone, atque planeta, si affuerit; sin alias, casula non induatur. Diaconus vero qui evangelii textum ferat et oleum infirmorum, et ceroferarii secundum ordinem suum se induant. Unus ceroferariorum dextera cereum, læva thuribulum cum incensu. Sic induti cum domum, in qua infirmus jacet, intrare voluerint: sacerdos læva codicem, quo hujus officii orationes habentur, teneat: dextra se signo dominicæ crucis muniat, quatenus cum summa humilitate et timore Dei quod incœperit perficere valeat. Et sic intrando istam antiphonam dicat: Pax huic domui," &c.

After entering into the house, the priest is directed, some prayers having preceded, as follows:—

"*Tunc sacerdos flexis genibus ante ægrotum inclinet dicens ei*, Ut quid nos vocasti, frater? *Infirmus dicat:* Ut unctionem mihi tradere dignemini. *Sacerdos tunc eum compendiose cum omni lenitate divinis instruat dogmatibus, si spiritualis est, dicens ei:* Prius te ad puram præpara confessionem, de cetero sanctam accipies unctionem. *Si sæcularis est, dicat ei:* Tuæ prius dispone domui, et si quid intra tui cordis conscientiam habere censes contra quempiam, indulgendo remitte; quatenus opitulante summi tonantis clementia, per hanc valeas unctionem tuorum percipere peccaminum abolitionem." *De ant. ecc. ritibus*, lib. I. cap. vij. 4.

To this may be added the following note, taken from the edition of the Sarum manual already more than once referred to, published at Douay in 1610:—

"Si eodem tempore communicandus sit infirmus et simul ungendus, administraturus superpelliceum et stolam induat cum pluviali, accipiat pixidem cum hostia et oleum infirmorum, cooperiat pixidem velo, quod ab humeris dependeat. Inter eundum si fieri potest ferant quatuor viri baldachinum super sacramentum. Custos superpelliceo indutus lumen in lanterna et campanulam præferat cæteris comitibus viris piis sequentibus, et lumen etiam si voluerint ferentibus, ad quos convocandos non erit abs re si parochus utatur signo campanæ. Sacerdos hoc modo domum ægroti petat, et inter eundum caveat ne vagos oculos huc illuc leviter conjiciat, sed timide potius ac graviter ambulet, cœlestemque illum quem manibus gestat thesaurum fide portet, et linguam et mentem precando exerceat, quoad in ægrotantis cubiculum introduca-

Ps. Domine ne in furore tuo.
Gloria Patri.

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tur. (*Hæc ex consuetudine Romana et pastorali Mechlinensi.*)

"Si solum communicandus sit infirmus eodem modo procedatur, tantum sacerdos non sumat secum oleum infirmorum. Si sit antea inunctus et in illa visitatione usus sit sacerdos toto sequenti ordine, omittantur in secunda visitatione infra scriptæ exhortationes, et dictis orationibus quæ illas præcedunt, communicetur infirmus, ut præscribitur. Si non sit antea unctus nihil ex sequenti ordine visitandi infirmum omittatur.

"Eodem modo si infirmus qui antea communicavit sit ungendus, sumat secum sacerdos tantum oleum infirmorum, et indutus superpelliceo et stola reverenter ab ecclesia progrediatur, concomitantibus amicis et custode sine lumine et campana, et si parochus cum eum communicavit, fecerit totum quod in sequenti ordine visitandi infirmum præscribitur, in extrema unctione omittuntur dictæ exhortationes et confessio. Inquirat tamen sacerdos utrum aliquo delicto conscientia ejus gravetur, et si intellexerit eum velle confiteri, annuat. Quo facto accedat ad unctionem.

"Si denique neque ungendus neque communicandus sit infirmus, parochus eum visitans non utatur superpelliceo, neque stola, dicere tamen potest super eum omnes, vel aliquas ex infra scriptis orationibus."

The old instructions for a parish priest say:—

"When þow schalt to seke gon,
Hye þe faste and go anon,
For yef þow tarye þow dost amys,
Thow schalt quyte that sowle I wys,
When þow schalt to seke gon,
A clene surples caste þe on,
Take þy stole wyth þe ryyht,
And pul thy hode ouer þy suyht,
Bere þyn ost anont þy breste,
In a box that ys honeste,
Make þy clerke before þe rynge
To bere lyyht and bellerynge,"
&c. Cotton MS. Claudius A. ij. fol. 151.

The bell is among the furniture ordered to be provided for all churches, by the constitution of archbishop Winchelsey: "tintinnabulum ad deferendum coram corpore Christi in visitatione infirmorum." See above, in preliminary dissertation. Sometimes the parson of the parish was bound to provide the bell and the lantern for the light; as in a canon for the diocese of Salisbury in 1265; *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 714.

Mediæval English councils are full of directions with regard to the "box that ys honeste," for the holy eucharist. Cf. *Concil.* vol. 1.

Ps. Miserere mei Deus.
Gloria Patri.
Ps. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
Gloria Patri.
Ps. De profundis clamavi.
Gloria Patri.
Ps. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
Gloria Patri.

Ant. Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra, vel parentum nostrorum: neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris: parce, Domine, parce famulo tuo, quem redemisti pretioso sanguine tuo, ne in æternum irascaris ei.

¶ *Et cum intraverit domum dicat:*

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pp. 638, 657, 667; vol. 2. p. 48: the inside was to be lined with fine linen.

[2] "*In primis induat se episcopus superpellicio cum stola, et in eundo dicat,*" &c. Pontificale Sarum. "*Sacerdos præter casulam indutus aut stola pro necessitate, cum fratribus domum intrans dicat:* Pax huic domui, &c. Alleluia." *Manuale Ebor.*

In the pontifical of Robert of Canterbury, a MS. of the eleventh century, is an Anglo-saxon rubric, translated as follows in the preface to the *York manual* (Surtees society): "Here beginneth the order of visiting or anointing the sick. First, the priest shall hallow water with ashes of the vine outside the house, and when they be gone in within the house of the sick man should they say thrice *Pax huic domui,* and then begin the antiphon *Asperges me:* and then sprinkle the water over the sick and over his house, singing the psalm *Miserere mei Deus.*"

The Leofric MS. appoints as follows:—

"*Incipit ordo ad visitandum et unguendum infirmum.*

"*Primitus audiat sacerdos confessionem infirmi, et oret pro illo et benedicat eum dicens:* Oremus.

"Omnipotens Deus, qui dixit, qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo qui in cœlis est, ipse te benedicat et custodiat semper, detque tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum et vitam æternam.

"*Et hortetur eum, ut declinet a malo et faciat bonum, et post pœnitentiam indictam reconcilietur. Deinde si peccata criminalia ha-*

Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea: pax ingredientibus et egredientibus.[3]

¶ *Et sciendum est quando infirmus debet inungi, offerenda est ei imago crucifixi et ante conspectum ejus statuenda: ut redemptorem suum in imagine crucifixi adoret, et passionis ejus quam pro peccatorum salute sustinuit recordetur.*[4]

Deinde aspergat infirmum aqua benedicta, et statim sequatur:[5]

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

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buerit, episcopus aut presbyter dicat super eum orationes ad dandam pœnitentiam." Then follow the seven penitential psalms, and the litany: after which other prayers, and an epistle and gospel.

[3] The Irish manuscript already referred to (see note 35, p. 26) has an order of visitation which the student should carefully examine. It begins,—

"Pax huic domui . . . et regredientibus, atque ad nostræ humilitatis introitum infirmus iste pristinam consequatur salutem." p. 205.

[4] This rubric is omitted in the Sarum pontifical and in the York manual.

I cannot resist quoting the pathetic account of the deathbed of one of our greatest kings, Edward the third. When deserted at last by the woman whom the chronicler rightly speaks of as "illa nefanda meretrix, Alicia Peeres" and by his attendants who, like her, were only intent on plunder, "solus tunc quidam sacerdos assidebat regi moribundo, ceteris circa rerum intentis direptionem, qui ei eo quod loqui non poterat, nec confessionem ore tenus facere, persuasit ut veniam peteret pro commissis, afferens sibi crucis imaginem, quam dedit in manus ejus. Rex autem cum reverentia summa illam accipiens osculabatur devotissime, nunc manu, ut poterat, in signum optandæ veniæ protendendo, nunc vero de suis oculis lachrymas uberes emittendo, et pedes imaginis frequentissime osculando. Tandem cum ad nutum presbyteri motibus et signis, quibus potuit, petiisset primo et principaliter de peccatis à Deo remissionem, et secundarie a cunctis creaturis, quas vel scienter vel ignoranter offenderat, spiritum exhalavit." Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* p. 194.

[5] The order of the York manual is altogether different here; and also the prayers. After the entry into the house, it directs:—

" *Tunc aquam benedictam super*

Vers. Et ne nos.
Resp. Sed libera.
Vers. Salvum fac servum tuum *vel* ancillam tuam.
Resp. Deus meus sperantem in te.
Vers. Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium de sancto.
Resp. Et de Syon tuere eum.
Vers. Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo.
Resp. Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei.
Vers. Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis.
Resp. A facie inimici.
Vers. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.
Resp. Et clamor.
Dominus vobiscum.
Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus, qui beatum Petrum apostolum tuum misisti ad Thabitam famulam tuam, ut ejus precibus suscitaretur ad vitam: exaudi nos, quæsumus, ut hunc

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infirmum et per totam domum aspergat, dicens antiphonam:

"Asperges me.

"*Ps.* Miserere. *Versus.* Ostende nobis. *Oratio.* Exaudi nos, Domine. Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

"Omnipotens et misericors Deus, quæsumus immensam pietatem tuam: ut ad introitum humilitatis nostræ, hunc famulum *N.* in hoc habitaculo fessum jacentem visitatione salutifera visitare digneris: et sicut visitasti, Domine, Tobiam et Saram et socrum Petri, puerumque centurionis, ita et iste pristina sanitate animæ et corporis recepta, gratiarum tibi in ecclesia tua referat actionem. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum.

"Oremus dominum Jesum Christum, et cum omni supplicatione rogemus, ut hunc famulum suum .*N.* per sanctum angelum suum visitare et lætificare atque confortare dignetur: qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

"Oremus.

"Respice, Domine, de cœlo," &c.

Then follow the seven penitential psalms, and the litany and some other prayers. Before the priest begins the psalms he is directed to say the antiphon, "Ne reminiscaris."

famulum tuum *N.* quem in nomine tuo visitat nostra fragilitas, exorata medicinæ tuæ medela citius sanitati restituat. Per Christum.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui subvenis in periculis et necessitate laborantibus, et flagella clementer temperas: te, Domine, supplices exoramus ut per visitationem tuam sanctam erigas hunc famulum tuum *N.* ex hac ægrotatione qua tenetur: et præsentes eum ecclesiæ tuæ sanctæ incolumem, ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

Exaudi nos omnipotens et misericors Deus, et visitationem tuam conferre digneris super hunc famulum tuum *N.* quem diversa vexat infirmitas. Visita eum, Domine, sicut visitare dignatus es socrum Petri, puerumque centurionis, et Tobiam, et Saram, per sanctum angelum tuum Raphaelem. Restitue in eo, Domine, pristinam sanitatem: ut mereatur in atrio domus tuæ dicere, castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me salvator mundi. Qui cum Deo Patre, et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus: per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oratio.

Deus, qui famulo tuo Ezechiæ ter quinos annos ad vitam donasti: ita et hunc famulum tuum *N.* a lecto ægritudinis tua potentia erigas ad salutem. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Oratio.

Respice quæsumus, Domine, famulum tuum *N.* in infirmitate sui corporis laborantem: et animam refove quam creasti, ut castigationibus emundata

continuo se sentiat tua medicina salvatam. Per Christum.

Oratio.

Deus, qui facturæ tuæ pio semper dominaris affectu, inclina aurem tuam supplicationibus nostris, et famulum tuum *N.* ex adversa valetudine sui corporis laborantem placatus respice, et visita in salutari tuo, ac cœlestis ei gratiæ præsta medicinam. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Oratio.

Virtutum cœlestium Deus, qui ab humanis corporibus omnem languorem, et omnem infirmitatem præcepti tui potestate depellis: adesto propitius huic famulo tuo *N.* ut fugatis infirmitatibus et viribus receptis, nomen sanctum tuum instaurata protinus sanitate benedicat. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui fragilitatem conditionis humanæ immensa virtutis tuæ dignatione confirmas, ut salutaribus remediis pietatis tuæ corpora nostra et membra vegetentur: super hunc famulum tuum .*N.* propitius intende, ut omni necessitati corporeæ infirmitatis exclusa, gratia in eo pristinæ sanitatis perfecta reparetur. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Respice, Domine, de cœlo, et vide et visita hunc famulum tuum .*N.* et benedic eum sicut benedicere dignatus es Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob. Respice super eum, Domine, oculis misericordiæ tuæ: et reple eum omni gaudio et lætitia et timore tuo. Expelle ab eo omnes inimici insidias: et mitte

angelum pacis qui eum custodiat, et domum istam in pace perpetua. Per Dominum nostrum.

℄ *Deinde*[6] *priusquam ungatur infirmus, aut communicetur: exhortetur eum sacerdos hoc modo.*

Frater charissime: gratias age omnipotenti Deo pro universis ✠ beneficiis suis, patienter et benigne suscipiens infirmitatem corporis quam tibi Deus immisit: nam si ipsam humiliter sine murmure toleraveris, infert animæ tuæ maximum præmium et salutem. Et frater charissime quia viam universæ carnis ingressurus es, esto firmus in fide. Qui enim non est firmus in fide, infidelis est: et sine fide impossibile est placere Deo. Et ideo si salvus esse volueris, ante omnia opus est ut teneas catholicam fidem: quam nisi integram inviolatamque servaveris, absque dubio in æternum peribis.

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[6] All from hence to the prayer "Deus misericors, Deus clemens" is omitted, as might have been expected, in the Sarum pontifical; and this rubric is inserted instead:—

"Hiis dictis, priusquam inungatur infirmus aut communicetur, interroget eum episcopus, quomodo credat in Deum, et si recognoscat corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi: postea vero confiteatur, et ab omnibus peccatis absolvatur: quo facto osculetur crucem, deinde episcopum, et postea omnes cæteros per ordinem."

The York manual, after the litany and prayers, directs:—

"Hic confiteatur infirmus: postea absolvatur sic a singulis, et secundum quosdam osculetur a cunctis."

Then a long rubric follows giving directions as to the confession, similar to those in the text; after which comes the absolution: "Dominus noster Jesus Christus, pro sua magna pietate," &c.: with another form of absolution, similar to that above from the Bangor pontifical: "si infirmus non habeat bullam apostolicam de plena absolutione et remissione peccatorum." Then come the prayers, "Deus misericors, Deus clemens;" "Da nobis, quæsumus Domine;" and "Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus;" which are immediately succeeded by the rite of unction.

¶ *Deinde bonum et valde expediens est ut sacerdos exprimat infirmo .xiiij. articulos fidei: quorum .vij. primi ad mysterium Trinitatis, et .vij. alii ad Christi humanitatem pertinent: ut si forte prius in aliquo ipsorum erraverit, titubaverit, vel dubius fuerit, ante mortem dum adhuc spiritus unitus est carni, ad fidem solidam reducatur: et potest sacerdos dicere sic.*[7]

Fides autem catholica hæc est, frater.

Credere in unum Deum: hoc est, in unitate divinæ essentiæ: in trium Personarum indivisibili Trinitate.

ij. Patrem ingenitum esse Deum.

iij. Unigenitum Dei Filium: esse Deum per omnia coæqualem Patri.

iiij. Spiritum sanctum non genitum, non factum, non creatum: sed a Patre et Filio pariter procedentem: esse Deum Patri Filioque consubstantialem, etiam et æqualem.

v. Creationem cœli et terræ: id est omnis visibilis et invisibilis creaturæ a tota indivisibili Trinitate.

vi. Sanctificationem ecclesiæ per Spiritum sanctum et gratiæ sacramenta, ac cætera omnia in quibus communicat ecclesia Christiana: in quo intelligitur,

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[7] The *Book of Dimma*, an Irish manuscript supposed to be of the seventh century, contains an office of visitation in which the sick man is desired to say the creed, with a deprecation like that so well known in the canon of the mass before the Pater noster: "Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere. Credo in deum," &c. The editor observes in a note that "nowhere, except in this manuscript, has this or any similar preface been found to introduce the creed." *Ritual of the Celtic church*, p. 169.

quod ecclesia catholica cum suis sacramentis et legibus per Spiritum sanctum regulata, omni homini, quantumcunque facinoroso peccatori, sufficit ad salutem : et quod extra ecclesiam catholicam non est salus.

vij. Consummationem ecclesiæ per gloriam sempiternam, in anima et carne veraciter suscitanda : et per cujus oppositum intelligitur æterna damnatio reproborum.

Si vis ergo salvus esse, frater : ita de mysterio Trinitatis sentias.

Deinde exprimat ei sacerdos alios septem articulos ad Christi humanitatem pertinentes, hoc modo.

Similiter, frater charissime, necessarium est ad æternam salutem, ut credas et confitearis Domini nostri Jesu Christi incarnationem, seu veram carnis assumptionem per Spiritum sanctum ex sola virgine gloriosa.

ij. Veram incarnati Dei nativitatem ex virgine incorrupta.

iij. Veram Christi passionem et mortem sub tyrannide Pilati.

iiij. Veram Christi descensionem ad inferos in anima ad spoliationem tartari : quiescente corpore ejus in sepulchro.

v. Veram Christi Dei tertia die a morte resurrectionem.

vi. Veram ipsius ad cœlos ascensionem.

vij. Ipsius venturi ad judicium certissimam expectationem.

Hæc est fides catholica, frater, quam nisi fideliter firmiterque credideris sicut sancta mater ecclesia credit : salvus esse non poteris.

¶ *Et si infirmus laicus vel simpliciter literatus*

fuerit: tunc potest sacerdos articulos fidei in generali ab eo inquirere, sub hac forma.

Carissime frater: credis Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, esse tres Personas et unum Deum, et ipsam benedictam atque indivisibilem Trinitatem creasse omnia creata, visibilia et invisibilia. Et solum Filium, de Spiritu sancto conceptum, incarnatum fuisse ex Maria virgine: passum et mortuum pro nobis in cruce sub Pontio Pilato: sepultum descendisse ad inferna: die tertia resurrexisse a mortuis: ad cœlos ascendisse: iterumque venturum ad judicandum vivos et mortuos, omnesque homines tunc in corpore et anima resurrecturos, bona et mala secundum merita sua recepturos. Et remissionem peccatorum per sacramentorum ecclesiæ perceptionem. Et sanctorum communionem: id est, omnes homines in caritate existentes, esse participes omnium bonorum gratiæ quæ fiunt in ecclesia: et omnes qui communicant cum justis hic in gratia, communicare cum eis in gloria?

¶ *Deinde respondeat infirmus:*

Credo firmiter in omnibus, sicut sancta mater credit ecclesia: protestando coram Deo et omnibus sanctis continue hoc esse meam veram et firmam intentionem, quomodocunque aliquis spiritus malignus memoriam meam aliter forte in futuro solicitaverit perturbare.

¶ *Deinde dicat sacerdos:*

Carissime frater: quia sine caritate nihil proderit tibi fides, testante apostolo qui dicit: Si habuero omnem fidem ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum: ideo oportet te diligere Dominum Deum tuum super omnia ex toto

corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua : et proximum tuum propter Deum sicut teipsum : nam sine hujusmodi caritate nulla fides valet. Exerce ergo caritatis opera dum vales : et si multum tibi affuerit, abundanter tribue : si autem exiguum, illud impartiri stude. Et ante omnia si quem injuste læseris, satisfacias si valeas : sin autem, expedit ut ab eo veniam humiliter postules. Dimitte debitoribus tuis et aliis qui in te peccaverunt, ut Deus tibi dimittat. Odientes te diligas : pro malis bona retribuas. Dimittite (inquit salvator) et dimittetur vobis. Spem etiam firmam et bonam fiduciam, frater, oportet te habere in Deo, et in misericordia sua : et si occurrerit cogitatui tuo multitudo peccatorum tuorum, dole : sed nullo modo desperes. Imo cogita quoniam (ut testatur scriptura) misericordiæ ejus super omnia opera ejus : et illi soli proprium est misereri semper et parcere : et quia secundum altitudinem cœli a terra corroboravit misericordiam suam super timentes se. Spera igitur in Deo et fac bonitatem : quoniam sperantem in Domino misericordia circumdabit. Qui sperant in Domino habebunt fortitudinem, et assument pennas ut aquilæ, volabunt et non deficient. Volabunt enim a tenebris ad lumen : a carcere ad regnum : a miseria præsenti ad gloriam sempiternam.

¶ *Deinde stabilito sic infirmo in fide, caritate, et spe, dicat ei sacerdos :*

Carissime frater : si velis ad visionem Dei pervenire, oportet omnino quod sis mundus in mente et purus in conscientia : ait enim Christus in evangelio : Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt. Si ergo vis mundum cor et conscientiam sanam habere, peccata tua universa confitere : oris

enim confessio fit ad salutem, ut ait apostolus. Et quia forte antehac aut per oblivionem, aut verecundiæ confusionem, aliqua peccata tua vel eorum circumstantias aggravantes omisisti, truncasti, abscondisti, vel minus confessus fuisti: ideo jam resume ab initio et confitere, quoniam in proximo est ut viam universæ carnis ingressurus sis: et tunc amplius confiteri non poteris. Dic ergo uni peccata tua: ut Deus coram multis millibus in die judicii ea tegat. Si autem tu hic ea tegas et abscondas: in omnium conspectu ad tui confusionem in die judicii denudabuntur. Recogita ergo omnes annos tuos in amaritudine animæ tuæ: et non sit tibi solicitudo de aliqua creatura vel rebus mundanis: sed omnem solicitudinem tuam projice in Deum, et noli esse immemor salutis animæ tuæ. Multum tempus in vanum transegisti, nunc una hora tibi forte tantum superest in hac vita: et ideo hanc expende totaliter in utilitatem et commodum animæ tuæ. Surge, frater, de lacu miseriæ et de luto peccati per confessionem. Grandis enim tibi restat via. Surge ergo ut lotus lachrymis contritionis comedere valeas panem vitæ: hoc est, sacramentum corporis Christi, quod erit tibi in via hac qua gradieris robur et fulcimentum: et ambulabis per Dei gratiam in fortitudine cibi illius usque ad montem Dei: quod tibi concedat omnium fidelium redemptor, Dei Filius Jesus Christus. Amen.

¶ *Deinde audita integra confessione infirmi*,[8] *et*

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[8] If the sick man were able, he would say the Confiteor either in English or Latin, according to the form given in the ordinary of the mass. See for an old version, which was probably commonly used in the fifteenth century, vol. iii. p. 304. The "form of confession" given at p. 293 is rather a kind of instruction before going

factis interrogationibus expedientibus: injungat sacerdos infirmo quod si quid injuste alieni habuerit, vel si quem injuste læserit seu damnificaverit: reddat et satisfaciat si valeat: sin autem, veniam humiliter postulet. Attamen non injungat ei sacerdos aliquam pœnitentiam, sed dicat ei benigniter hoc modo.

Frater, tu tot et talia peccata commisisti : pro quibus si tu esses sanus talem pœnitentiam debes agere usque ad tale tempus.

Innotescendo ei talem pœnitentiam in speciali.

Sed quia infirmus es, et forte vita tua ad hoc peragendum extendi non valebit : ideo non injungo tibi aliquam pœnitentiam. Volo tamen quod (si forte discesseris) facias talem eleemosynam, vel ad minus injungas amicis vel executoribus tuis ipsam facere ex parte tua : pro ipsa pœnitentia.

Assignando ipsam eleemosynam in speciali.

Si autem convalueris : pœnitentiam quam tibi notificavi adimpleas vel iterum humiliter de novo redeas ad confessionem : vel mihi, vel alteri qui tibi absolutionis beneficium in hac parte de jure conferre valeat et debeat. Et concedo tibi quod omnes indulgentiæ quorumcunque prælatorum tibi concessæ seu qualitercunque concedendæ, eorumque benedictiones, omnes aquæ benedictæ aspersiones, devotæ pectoris tui tunsiones, cordis tui contritiones, ista confessio et omnes aliæ confessiones tuæ devotæ, omnia jejunia, abstinentiæ, eleemosynæ, vigiliæ, disciplinæ, orationes, peregrinationes, et omnia alia

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to the sacrament of penance: and the few lines beginning, "I knowlege my selfe gylty," &c., or the form just referred to, would be all that would be required.

bona quæ fecisti vel facies, et omnia mala quæ pro Deo sive injuste sustinuisti vel sustinebis, passio salvatoris domini nostri Jesu Christi, meritaque beatæ et gloriosæ virginis Mariæ et omnium aliorum sanctorum, necnon suffragia totius sanctæ ecclesiæ catholicæ, cedant tibi in remissionem istorum et omnium aliorum peccatorum tuorum, in augmentationem meritorum, et consecutionem præmiorum æternorum. Amen.

Deinde dicat sacerdos hoc modo.

Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua: liberet te ab omni malo: conservet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat æternam. Amen.

¶ *Deinde absolvat sacerdos infirmum ab omnibus peccatis suis, hoc modo dicens.*

Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat: et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et auctoritate mihi tradita absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis his de quibus corde contritus et ore mihi confessus es: et ab omnibus aliis peccatis tuis de quibus si tuæ occurrerent memoriæ libenter confiteri velles: et sacramentis ecclesiæ te restituo. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

¶ *Notandum est, quod licet sacerdos possit de facto absolvere infirmum in articulo mortis ab omnibus peccatis suis: tamen si aliquis casus occurrat in confessione a quo ipse sacerdos cum alias de jure absolvere non posset, injungendum est infirmo quod cum convaluerit præsentet se illi ad confitendum, qui cum de jure vel consuetudine in hac parte absolvere debeat, recepturus ejus mandata, et satisfacturus: nam alias*

reincidit in eandem sententiam quam prius sustinuit.[9] *Si infirmus bullam habeat apostolicam, de plena absolutione et remissione omnium peccatorum suorum semel in articulo mortis concessam: tunc primo legat sacerdos effectum bullæ: deinde cæteris peractis (ut prædictum est) fiat ejus absolutio sub hac forma.*

Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro sua magna pietate te absolvat: et ego auctoritate ejusdem Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et domini nostri domini *N.* divina providentia summi pontificis: et virtute gratiæ tibi concessæ: et electionis qua me in tuum confessorem elegisti in hac parte mihi commissa: absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis, de quibus corde contritus et ore mihi confessus es: et ab omnibus aliis peccatis tuis de quibus si tuæ occurrerent me-

[9] "Semper majora [peccata] majoribus reservet. Sunt autem ista majora; homicidia, sacrilegia, &c. Absolutio talium in articulo mortis nulli deneganda est, saltem conditionalis; nihilominus talium rei mittendi sunt prius ad episcopum, vel ad ejus pœnitentiarium; semper autem qui mittuntur, deferunt secum literas continentes genus peccati et circumstantias sufficientes; vel ipse sacerdos veniat personaliter cum eis; alioquin non recipiantur." *Concil.* tom. 1. p. 577—a decree of a council of Durham, about 1250. Compare a constitution of archbishop Langton, in 1222, *ibid.* p. 597; and another of archbishop Peckham, tom. 2. p. 58.

In the constitutions published in 1367, by Thoresby, archbishop of York, thirty-seven cases are reserved to the archbishop himself or to his penitentiary, "præterquam in mortis articulo." Some are important, as evidence of the care taken as to sacred offices and people: "Vicesimus septimus in clerico non ordinato ministrante. Vicesimus octavus in clerico per saltum ad ordines promoto. Vicesimus nonus in eo, qui ordinem furtive suscepit. Tricesimus est, si se fecerit quis in eodem ordine iterum ordinari. Tricesimus primus est in eo, qui fecerit iterum baptizari." *Ibid.* tom. 3. p. 73. These orders were repeated by a provincial synod, about 1518; *ibid.* p. 680.

moriæ confiteri velles: ab omni fractione votorum et omni omissione salutarium pœnarum sacramentaliter tibi injunctarum: et ab omni transgressione divinorum mandatorum. Tibique concedo plenam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum tuorum, in quantum claves ecclesiæ et potestas apostolica se extendunt. Et si immiscendo te divinis sic innodatus es aut unquam fuisti, quod aliquam notam irregularitatis contraxisti: vel pœnam suspensionis, interdicti, seu excommunicationis incurristi: eadem auctoritate tollo et amoveo, tecumque dispenso: et sacramentis ecclesiæ te restituo. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Deinde dicat sacerdos orationem sequentem, cum Dominus vobiscum, *et* Oremus.

Oratio.

Prætende, Domine, huic famulo tuo dexteram cœlestis auxilii: ut te toto corde perquirat, et quod digne postulat assequatur. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur.

Bene✠dictio Dei Patris omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, super te descendat et maneat semper. Amen.

Deinde osculetur crucem infirmus, et sacerdotem, et postea omnes alios per ordinem: et interim dicat sacerdos morosius.

Dominus vobiscum, *et* Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus misericors, Deus clemens, qui secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum peccata pœnitentium deles, et præteritorum criminum culpas venia remissionis evacuas: respice super hunc fa-

mulum tuum *N.* sibi remissionem omnium peccatorum suorum tota cordis contritione poscentem. Renova in eo, piissime Pater, quicquid diabolica fraude violatum est: et unitati corporis ecclesiæ tuæ membrum infirmum, peccatorum percepta remissione, restitue. Miserere, Domine, gemituum ejus: miserere lachrymarum: miserere tribulationum atque dolorum: et non habentem fiduciam nisi in tua misericordia ad sacramentum reconciliationis admitte. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Da nobis, quæsumus Domine, ut sicut publicani precibus et confessione placatus es: ita et huic famulo tuo *N.* benignus aspires: ut in confessione flebili permanens misericordiam tuam celeriter consequatur, sacrisque altaribus restitutus, rursus divino famulatui mancipetur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Absolutio.

Absolvimus te *N.* vice beati Petri apostolorum principis, cui Dominus potestatem ligandi atque solvendi dedit: et quantum ad te pertinet accusatio et ad nos remissio, sit tibi omnipotens Deus vita et salus, et omnium peccatorum tuorum pius indultor. Qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus.[10]

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[10] When the use of the old rituals was abolished in 1549, the first common Prayer book of Edward the sixth did not contain any form or order of administering extreme unction; but it did not altogether and suddenly prevent people from receiving a consolation which they had been accustomed to look for in sickness. A single prayer with one psalm was inserted in the service for visiting the sick, after the absolution and immediately before the communion; preceded by this rubric: "*If the sick*

person desire to be anointed, then shall the priest anoint him upon the forehead or breast only, making the sign of the cross, saying thus: As with this visible oil thy body outwardly is anointed, so," &c. Three years afterwards, in 1552, the permission to give or to receive extreme unction was removed. There is not, so far as I know, any evidence that the English bishops consecrated the holy oils in 1550 or in 1551; probably they did. There is, however, no doubt that, except in the few years of queen Mary's reign, none has ever been consecrated in the reformed church of England since 1552, and therefore, even if any sick man desired the rite, unction would be impossible because no oil can be procured.

Appendix to the order of visiting the Sick.

ONE duty of parish priests in the middle ages was to enquire of the sick whether they had made their wills, and to help them if requested to do so. For this purpose a form was commonly inserted in the manuals; and may very fitly be added here as an appendix.

"*Forma testamenti.* In nomine Domini. Amen. Universis præsentes literas inspecturis. Curatus parochialis de . . . salutem in Domino. Notum facimus quod in nostra præsentia ac testium infra scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum propter hoc personaliter constitutus honestus vir Petrus .*N.* clericus parochianus noster, jacens in lecto ægritudinis, infirmus corpore, sanus tamen mente: attendens et considerans quod vita hominis est brevis super terram; et quod nihil est certius morte, nihil vero incertius ejus hora; cupiens providere saluti animæ suæ, et ad gaudia felicitatis æternæ pervenire: testamentum suum ac suam ejus ultimam voluntatem fecit, et disposuit, in modum et formam sequentem. In primis enim animam suam recommendavit altissimo Deo, creatori suo, dum de corpore exierit, et beatæ Mariæ virgini, totique curiæ cœlesti. Corpus vero suum terræ vermibus, volens illud inhumari in cœmeterio vel ecclesia de dicto . . . . Deinde voluit et or-

dinavit omnia sua debita solvi: forefacta et male acquisita per eum si quæ sint reddi et restitui locis et personis quibus fuerit faciendum. Item dictus testator de bonis a Deo sibi collatis ob remedium animæ suæ legavit fabricæ vel luminariæ prædictæ ecclesiæ. v. sol. t. Item curato: totidem. Item vicario. xij. d. t. Item clerico. vj. d. t. Item fabricæ ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ. ij. sol. vj. d. t. Item eleemosynæ ejusdem ecclesiæ. xij. d. t. Item hospitalibus .*N*. cuilibet. vj. d. t. Item conventui fratrum prædicatorum. xij. d. t. Item legavit filiolis, cuilibet xv. d. t. Item confratriæ .*N*. xij. d. t. Et ad præmissa omnia et singula tenenda dictus testator nominavit executores suos Petrum *N*. ejus patrem, et Nicolaum *N*. ejus fratrem. Quibus executoribus pro præmissis omnibus et singulis adimplendis dictus testator obligavit omnia bona sua quæcunque et ubicunque, revocando omnia alia testamenta si quæ sint alias per eum facta. Volens hoc suum robur obtinere firmitatis melioribus, via, modo, et forma, quibus valere potest et debet. In cujus rei testimonium signum meum manuale ego *N*. præfatus curatus una cum sigillo prælibatæ parochialis ecclesiæ de . . . . . . apposui huic præsenti testamento. Acta fuerunt in domo dicti testatoris, Anno domini . . . . . die vero *N*. mensis *N*. præsentibus Johanne *N*. Jacobo *N*. et pluribus aliis testibus ad hoc rogatis et vocatis."[11]

I extract from the English councils a few canons bearing upon this matter. First of a council at Durham, in the year 1220: "Præcipimus quod laicis frequenter inhibeatur, ne testamenta sua fa-

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[11] *Manuale Sar*. edit. 4to. 1543, fol. clxvj.

ciant sine præsentia sacerdotis, sicut diligunt ut eorum ultimæ voluntates adimpleantur. Sacerdotibus similiter inhibemus, ne testamentum suum per manum ordinent laicalem."[12] The synod of Exeter, in 1287, has a long constitution directed to the same point to which I must refer the reader, quoting only its conclusion: "In fine autem cujuslibet testamenti hanc clausulam adjici volumus generalem: Cætera omnia bona mea, sive in rebus, sive in manibus fuerint debitorum, in hoc testamento non expressa, volo, ut pro animæ meæ salute per manus executorum meorum in pios usus distribuantur; et quod creditoribus meis per manus eorundem similiter sit satisfactum."[13] Again, shortly after, the 31st canon of a synod of the diocese of Sodor: "Præcipimus et statuimus, quod quilibet languens in extremis agoniis, cum testamentum condere voluerit, vocet capellanum ecclesiæ, et clericum; et ipsis præsentibus, duobus vel tribus viris adhibitis bonis et fide dignis, testamentum suum ore suo ordinet," &c.[14] Compare also the monition of archbishop Bouchier, in 1455;[15] and Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. 13, *de testamentis*. The *Pupilla oculi* has also a chapter on the same subject.[16]

Archbishop Parker records a remarkable and dreadful case of a dean of St. Paul's and treasurer of the king. He had plundered, it seems; and lying at last on his deathbed he refused to receive the holy eucharist; putting it off until the morrow: "Interea ad testamentum condendum monitus est. Ad quod paratus, exire, præter unum scriptorem,

[12] Wilkins, tom. 1. p. 583. [13] Ibid. tom. 2. p. 157.
[14] Ibid. p. 179. [15] Tom. 3. p. 575. [16] Pars ix. cap. viij.

cæteros voluit. Is testamentum scripturus, expectans quid decanus dictaret, ex more testamentorum sic orsus est; 'In nomine Patris,' &c. Quod cum decanus comperisset, iratus jussit id deleri, et hæc verba tantum scribi. 'Lego omnia bona mea domino regi, corpus sepulturæ, et animam diabolo.' Quo dicto expiravit. Rex cadaver illius jussit curru exportari, atque in amnem projici et demergi."[16]

A manuscript of the decretals in the British museum, of about 1320, has an illumination of a bishop on his bed, dying and dictating his will to a notary writing at his side. A bishop stands on the other side of the bed, with two priests, reciting the office of visitation of the sick.[17]

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[16] *Antiq. Britan. ecc.* p. 228, ad an. 1205.

[17] Additional MS. 15274. fol. 161.

De extrema Unctione.[18]

PRIUSQUAM ungatur infirmus incipiat sacerdos antiphonam:
Salvator mundi.
Deinde dicatur psalmus.

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[18] I extract the first rubric of the order of extreme unction from the Bangor MS.:—

"Ordo ad unguendum infirmum. Imprimis pulsetur campana capituli et fratres qui possunt in ecclesia conveniant. Quibus congregatis et sacerdote cum ministris præparatis ut supra (vide p. 80), sacerdos accipiat oleum sanctum et deinde ordinate procedant cum ps. 'Miserere mei Deus,' sicut in communione infirmorum determinatum est."

After entering the house three prayers are appointed, after which aspersion of holy water, the antiphon "asperges me," ps. Miserere, Confiteor, and the seven penitential psalms; during the saying of which last the priest is directed to anoint the sick person, "ad oculos: ad aures: ad nares: ad os: ad manus: ad pedes: ad lumbos." After which the litany and some prayers follow.

The rubric before the unction and succeeding a short benediction is: "Quo facto: faciat signum crucis de oleo sancto in corpore infirmi, in .vij. locis subscriptis, ad unamquamque crucem propriam orationem dicendo."

"Extreme unction ought to be ministered to Christian men or women, such as haue receyued the sacrament of baptisme before, and not to euery one of them, but to such as be than visited by the hand of God with some great sycknes of the bodye, and be in some perill of death, by reason of the sayd syckenes, and not by any other outward violence of warre or execution, and not to yong infantes that haue no neede of it, nor to suche as eyther for younge age or for phrenesie lack the use of theyr reason, but to such as haue knowledge and haue dominion ouer theyr own willes, and beyng in venial synne do requyre the same either than or before, as it may be presumed by theyr former will." Watson (bishop of Lincoln), *Holsome and catholyke doctrine*, fol. clxxxvj. *b*.

In te Domine speravi, non confundar in æternum.

Finito psalmo cum Gloria Patri, &c. *tota dicatur antiph.*

Salvator mundi salva nos, qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos : auxiliare nobis te deprecamur Deus noster.

Tunc dicat sacerdos Dominus vobiscum, *et* Oremus.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui per beatum Jacobum apostolum tuum locutus es, dicens : Infirmatur quis in vobis : inducat presbyteros ecclesiæ et orent super eum, ungentes oleo sancto in nomine Domini : et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et alleviabit eum Dominus, et si in peccatis sit dimittentur ei, dignare per manus nostras hunc famulum tuum *N.* infirmum de oleo sanctificato ungere, et virtute benedictionis tuæ saluti pristinæ restituere : ut quod exterius per ministerium nostrum efficitur, hoc interius spiritualiter tua divina virtus ac invisibiliter tua malagmata operentur. Per dominum.

Tunc sacerdos[19] *accedens ad infirmum incipiat*

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[19] The famous Irish manuscripts, of which fragments remain, give us what we may not unreasonably suppose was the ritual of the early British church, and of many parts of England after the coming of St. Augustin, perhaps, for centuries. The so-called "Stowe missal" (see note 35, p. 26) has the following very brief and simple form of administering extreme unction; no rubric seems to precede and none to close the order :—

"Ungo te de oleo sanctificato, ut salveris, in nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti, in sæcula.

"Concede, domine, nobis famulis tuis ut orantibus cum fiducia dicere meriamur.

"Pater noster.

"Libera nos, domine, ab omni malo, et custodi nos in omnibo [*sic*], ihesu christe, auctor omnium bonorum, qui regnas in sæcula sæculorum." Warren's *Ritual of the Celtic church*, p. 223. Compare the forms in the

psalmum sequentem, quem chorus vel clericus totum prosequatur: et sic fiat de cæteris psalmis sequentibus.

Ps. Usquequo, Domine, oblivisceris me in finem: usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me?

Gloria Patri et Filio.

Sicut erat in principio.

¶ *Dum dicitur prædictus psalmus a choro vel a clerico, accipiat interim sacerdos oleum infirmorum super pollicem dextrum: et sic cum illo pollice tangat infirmum cum oleo, signum sanctæ crucis faciens, super utrumque oculum incipiendo ad dextrum, et dicat sacerdos hoc modo.*[20]

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still more ancient manuscripts, the "Book of Deer," p. 167, and the "Book of Mulling," p. 172.

[20] "Et sic perungant singuli sacerdotes infirmum de oleo sanctificato, facientes crucem, in collum, et guttur, et pectus, et inter scapulas, et per quinque sensus corporeos, et in supercilia oculorum, et in nares intus et foris, et in labia exterius, id est, deforis. Ut maculæ quæ per quinque sensus mentis et corporis fragilitate carnis aliquando inhæserunt, hac medicina spiritali et Domini misericordia pellantur." *Leofric MS.* The Salisbury use only speaks of one priest anointing; but in the dissertation before these offices, among the canons there collected, the reader will find that except in cases of extreme necessity he was always to be attended by some other clergy.

In the Leofric book a long prayer precedes the actual anointing; and then the several parts of the body are anointed, each unction accompanied by a short benediction. First the ears; I give the commencement of this order:—

"*Primitus ad aurem ejus dextram, et in fronte, et ad aurem sinistram, dicentibus singulis sacerdotibus, ita:*

"In nomine Patris ✠ et Filii ✠ et Spiritus sancti ✠ accipe sanitatem mentis et corporis.

"*Sequitur benedictio.*

"Benedicat te Deus Pater, sanet te Deus Filius, illuminet te Spiritus sanctus: corpus tuum custodiat, animam tuam salvet, cor tuum irradiet, sensum tuum dirigat, et ad supernam vitam te perducat, qui vivit.

"*Ad oculos: alia.*

"Unguo oculos tuos de oleo sanctificato, ut quicquid illicito visu deliquisti, hujus unctione olei expietur. Per."

Then follows in order the

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per visum.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur psalmus.

Exaltabo te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me: nec delectasti inimicos meos super me.

Gloria Patri.

¶ *Deinde super aures dicens.*

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per auditum.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur psalmus.

Judica me, Deus, et discerne.

Gloria Patri.

¶ *Deinde super labia dicens.*

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per gustum et illicita verba.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur psalmus.

Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac.

Gloria Patri et Filio.

Sicut erat in principio.

¶ *Deinde super nares dicens.*

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anointing of the shoulders, the nose, the lips, the breast and back, the hands, the head, and the feet. After which numerous prayers are to be said as occasion or time allowed.

The order of the anointing according to the York manual was "super utrumque oculum; aures; nares; manus; pedes; cor; super umbilicum;" and then the blessing followed, as in the Sarum use. No psalms were appointed to be said. The washing of the hands succeeded the giving of the benediction; not, as will be seen in the text, preceded it.

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per odoratum.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur psalmus.

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

Gloria Patri.

Manus sacerdotis infirmi debent inungi in partibus exterioribus: nam et episcopus linebat in partibus interioribus. Manus vero cujuscunque alterius infirmi debent inungi interius.

¶ *Deinde super manus ita dicens.*

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per tactum.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur psalmus.

Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam et exaudi me.

Gloria Patri.

¶ *Deinde super pedes ita dicens.*[21]

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per incessum pedum.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur psalmus.

Domine Deus salutis meæ.

Gloria Patri.

¶ *Deinde in dorso inter lumbos maris, vel super umbilicum mulieris ita dicens.*

Per istam unctionem et suam piissimam miseri-

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[21] The large woodcut in the Verard edition, before quoted, of *Good living and dying* shows the priest anointing the left foot with the point of a small pencil or style; he holds the chrismatory in his left hand.

cordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quicquid peccasti per illicitas cogitationes et per ardorem libidinis.

Resp. Amen.

Tunc erigens se sacerdos lavet manus suas cum sale et aqua, in vase quo stuppæ olei ponuntur: quæ igne crementur, et in cœmeterio fodiantur.[22] *Postea dicat sacerdos super infirmum benedictionem hoc modo.*

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti: sit tibi hæc olei unctio ad purificationem mentis et corporis, et ad munimen et defensionem contra jacula immundorum spirituum.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur psalmus. Domine clamavi ad te.

Gloria.

Deinde dicat sacerdos.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et Oremus. *Oratio.*

Domine Deus, salvator noster, qui es vera salus et medicina, a quo omnis sanitas et omne medicamentum venit, quique nos apostoli tui Jacobi documento instruxisti ut languentes olei liquore orantes tangeremus: respice propitius super hunc famulum tuum *N.* et quem languor cruciat ad exitum, et virium defectus protrahit ad occasum, medela gratiæ tuæ saluti restituat castigatum. Extingue in eo, clementissime Deus, omnium febrium æstus: dolorum stimulos: et cunctorum languorum cruciatus. Viscerum quoque et secretorum interna medicina, atque medullarum discrimina sana. Compagum

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[22] The office in the Bangor MS. ends here with the following rubric; some prayers (as I have already said) and the litany succeeding the unction; see note 18: "*Postea stuppa projiciatur in ignem. Hiis peractis: eo ordine quo venerunt ad ecclesiam revertantur: excepto quod crux remaneat coram infirmo.*"

etiam et artuum dele cicatrices veteres, et acerbas compesce passiones: reformetur in eo carnis ac sanguinis quam creasti perfecta materies: sicque illum jugiter tua custodiat pietas, ut nec ad corruptionem aliquando sanitas, nec ad perditionem perducat infirmitas: sed fiat illi hæc sacra olei perunctio cita morbi præsentis et languoris expulsio, et peccatorum omnium exoptata remissio. Per te, salvator mundi. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Facta unctione ut prædictum est: expediens erit ut sacerdos ante communionem[23] *inquirat ab infirmo an aliqua alia peccata sibi ad memoriam occurrant, de quibus non erat confessus: nam posset esse quod per preces et devotas orationes sacerdotis sive aliorum, Deus cor infirmi illustraret, et daret ei gratiam verius et plenius confitendi. Et postea interroget eum sacerdos si recognoscat corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sic dicendo.*[24]

Frater, credis quod sacramentum quod tractatur in altari sub forma panis, est verum corpus et sanguis domini nostri Jesu Christi?

Respondeat infirmus. Credo.

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[23] "Cum ad infirmos accesserint, moneant eos, &c., nec aliquos sine candela accensa de cera communicet." *Constit. Sodor.*, *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 175.

[24] I need scarcely say that no such interrogatory as this occurs in the Leofric MS. But immediately after the collects already spoken of is the rubric, "*Hic communicetur infirmus, et ponat sacrificium in vino sine aqua, dicens:*

"Fiat commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, nobis et omnibus accipientibus in remissionem omnium peccatorum et vitam æternam. Amen."

With which the office in that book concludes: adding a prayer to be said at vespers and matins.

Deinde communicetur infirmus nisi prius communicatus fuerit:[25] *et nisi de vomitu*[26] *vel alia irreverentia probabiliter timeatur: in quo casu dicat sacerdos infirmo.*

Frater, in hoc casu sufficit tibi vera fides, et bona voluntas: tantum crede, et manducasti.[27]

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[25] "Mox autem ut eum viderint ad exitum propinquare, communicandus est de sacrificio sancto: etiam si comedisset ipsa die." Rubr. *Leofric MS.*

During a pestilence or plague which prevailed in the west of England about the middle of the fourteenth century Ralph, bishop of Bath and Wells, published a "mandatum" with exhortations to frequent confession and communion, and some dispensations: "Sacramentum vero eucharistiæ in absentia presbyteri poterit per diaconum ministrari." And the next sentence is, "Si vero non sit presbyter, qui sacramentum unctionis extremæ ministret, debet, sicut in aliis, fides sufficere sacramenti." *Concil.* tom. 2. p. 746.

[26] A curious account of the death of Hugo St. Victor and of a miracle which was worked when he was unable to swallow the blessed sacrament is given by John Bromton in his chronicle: "Ferunt quod cum in extrema infirmitate laboraret, et nullum cibum retinere posset, corpus tamen dominicum sibi dari instanter postulavit. Fratres vero ejus turbationem sedare volentes, simplicem oblatam non consecratam attulerunt. . . Volunt tamen alii, quod cum iste Hugo propter jugem vomitum non posset retinere eucharistiam, et hac de causa fratres sui verum sacramentum ei afferre noluissent, rogavit eos, ut saltem super latus ejus sacramentum ponerent; quo facto, latus infirmi se aperuit, et hostia corpori se immersit." *Script. X.* p. 1035. Henry de Knyghton copies the account; *ibid.* p. 2388.

[27] The rubric is the same in the York manual and the Sarum pontifical.

Compare the rubric in the office of the communion of the sick in the common Prayer book of the reformed church of England: "¶ But if a man, either by reason of extremity of sickness, or for want of warning in due time to the curate, or for lack of company to receive with him, or by any other just impediment, do not receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, the curate shall instruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his sins, and stedfastly believe that

Et nota quod sacerdos in infirmis communicandis stola induetur.[28]

Jesus Christ hath suffered death upon the cross for him, and shed his blood for his redemption, earnestly remembering the benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the body and blood of our saviour Christ profitably to his soul's health, although he do not receive the sacrament with his mouth."

This rubric is not seldom appealed to in proof that the reformed church of England teaches that, if men have faith, the actual eating of the body of Christ and the drinking of his blood is although a decent ceremony yet nothing more and not necessary. It is not within my object to discuss here whether the reformed church of England does or does not permit this doctrine to be taught by her clergy. One thing is, at any rate, quite certain; that no argument in its support can be drawn from the rubric in the common Prayer book. The same argument would prove that the church of England in the fifteenth century taught the same; which I should suppose would be rather too absurd. Before the reformation the English rituals made provision for cases where actual communion by oral consumption of the body and the blood happens, unfortunately, to be impossible. If in her present Prayer book the reformed English church has extended somewhat those limits, within which the priest is to comfort the sick with the assurance of the text, it matters nothing; the principle is the same.

I would add that in the eighth century the English church touched the question in a somewhat less positive and, it may seem to some, quite as reverential a manner; yet, nevertheless, with the same humble reliance upon the infinite mercies of the Almighty: "Si homini alicui eucharistia denegata sit et ipse interea moriatur, de his rebus nihil aliud conjicere possumus, nisi quod ad judicium Dei pertineat; quoniam in Dei potestate erat quod absque eucharistia obierit." *Pœnitentiale Ecgberti, arch. Ebor.* lib. 1. cap. 13.

The York manual adds: "Isti non debent sumere Corpus Christi.

"Dum vomet infirmus, non debet sumere corpus

"Christi: nisi credit: credendo fideliter egit:

"Ebrius, insanus, erroneus, et male credens,

"Et pueri, corpus Christi non suscipiant hi.

"Non nisi mense semel aliquis communicet æger."

[28] All the copies of the manual

Unde communicans sacerdos infirmum dicat.

Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat corpus tuum et animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.

Deinde dicat sacerdos sine Dominus vobiscum, *sed tantum cum* Oremus, *orationem sequentem: quæ non dicatur nisi tantum quando infirmus communicatur.*

Oratio.

Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, te fideliter deprecamur: ut accipienti huic fratri nostro *N.* sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi, tam corporis quam animæ sit salus. Amen.

Deinde sequatur psalmus.[29]

Lauda anima mea Dominum.

Gloria Patri et Filio.

Sicut erat in principio.

Quo finito dicat sacerdos.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus, qui peccatores et scelerum onere vulneratos sacerdotibus tuis ostendere jussisti: Deus, qui discipulis tuis manus super infirmos, ut bene haberent, ponere præcepisti: Deus, qui per apostolorum manus infirmos sacro oleo ungere et pro eis orare docuisti: Deus, qui per impositionem manuum sacerdotum cum sancti nominis tui invocatione peccata relaxare voluisti: exaudi orationes nostras, et da huic famulo tuo *N.* infirmitatis noxa oppresso, per hoc sacrosanctum mysterium quod nos

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(four) now before me read as in the text. The York has: "Et nota quod sacerdos infirmus et communicandus induetur stola." So the Sarum pontifical: "Et nota quod episcopus infirmus communicandus stola induitur."

[29] Omitted in the York use.

indignos famulos tuos agere voluisti, remissionem omnium peccatorum: quatenus per hanc sacrati olei unctionem, corporis et sanguinis tui susceptionem, atque manus nostræ impositionem, cuncta ei facinora Spiritus gratia relaxentur, sanitas animæ et corporis restituatur, ut non ei plus noceat conscientiæ reatus ad pœnam, quam indulgentia tuæ pietatis ad emendationem prosit et veniam: te concedente, salvator mundi. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate ejusdem, &c.

Deinde benedicat sacerdos infirmum dicens sic:[30]

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[30] The York manual directs: "Si episcopus adest absolvat infirmum, et dicat has orationes: sin autem sacerdos hæc compleat. Oratio." Then follow, but in a different order, the benedictions in the text: after which a long benediction, which is not in the Sarum use, viz.:—

"Benedicat te Deus Pater, qui te creavit. Amen.

"Benedicat te Dei Filius, qui pro te passus est. Amen.

"Benedicat te Spiritus sanctus, qui in te effusus est. Amen.

"Benedicat te virgo et mater regis æterni. Amen.

"Benedicant te angeli et archangeli, principatus et potestates. Amen.

"Benedicant te novem ordines angelorum regni cœlestis. Amen.

"Benedicant te viginti quatuor seniores: qui ante thronum Dei sunt. Amen.

"Benedicant te virtutes et dominationes. Amen.

"Benedicant te throni, cherubin et seraphin. Amen.

"Benedicant te patriarchæ, et prophetæ, et apostoli Domini. Amen.

"Benedicant te martyres et confessores. Amen.

"Benedicant te monachi et virgines Dei. Amen.

"Benedicant te cœlum, et terra, mare et omnia quæ in eis sunt. Amen.

"Benedicant te sol et luna: et omnis benedictio quæ est in scripturis scripta super te veniat. Amen.

"Quod ipse præstare dignetur, Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus in sæcula sæculorum."

The reader will doubtless have observed already some remarkable variations which occur in the use of the church of York. I think the above to be one scarcely the least remarkable and curious. Since the publication

Benedicat ✠ te Pater, qui in principio cuncta creavit.

Resp. Amen.

Et sic respondeatur ad singulas benedictiones.

Sanet te Dei Filius.

Amen.

Illuminet te Spiritus sanctus.

Amen.

Corpus tuum custodiat.

Amen.

Animam tuam salvet.

Amen.

Sensum tuum dirigat, et ad supernam patriam te perducat, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Alia benedictio.

Bene✠dicat te Deus cœli.

Amen.

Adjuvet te Christus Filius Dei.

Amen.

Corpus tuum in suo sancto servitio custodiri et conservari faciat.

Amen.

Mentem tuam illuminet.

Amen.

Sensum tuum custodiat.

Amen.

Gratiam suam ad profectum animæ tuæ in te augeat.

Amen.

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of the first edition of this work the York manual has been edited for the Surtees society by Dr. Henderson, and the student should carefully compare it with the offices in the text.

Ab omni malo te liberet.

Amen.

Omnia peccata tua deleat.

Amen.

Dextera sua te defendat.

Amen.

Qui sanctos suos semper adjuvat, ipse te adjuvare et conservare dignetur. Qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Alia benedictio.

Bene✠dicat te Deus Pater, qui in principio cuncta creavit.

Amen.

Bene✠dicat te Dei Filius, qui de supernis sedibus pro nobis salvandis descendit, et crucem subire non recusavit.

Amen.

Bene✠dicat te Spiritus sanctus, qui in similitudine columbæ in flumine Jordanis in Christo requievit.

Amen.

Ipseque te in Trinitate sanctificet, quem omnes gentes venturum expectant ad judicium. Qui cum Deo Patre et eodem Spiritu sancto. Amen.

[31] *Finito hoc officio convenienter dici poterunt ab*

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[31] Omitted in the York manual and in the Sarum pontifical.

After receiving the sacrament in mediæval times, a not uncommon practice, which has been already alluded to, was to lie upon ashes until death came. Roger Hoveden describes the death of prince Henry, son of Henry the second: "penitentiam et suorum recepit absolutionem peccatorum, &c. Deinde depositis mollioribus indumentis, cilicium induit, et ligato fune in collo suo . . . ait 'trahite me a lecto isto per hunc funem, et imponite lecto illi cinereo,' quem sibi præparaverat; et fecerunt sicut ipse præcepit illis, et apposuerunt capiti et pedibus suis

infirmo languente in extremis si placeat orationes subscriptæ vel earum aliquæ, videlicet, psalmus Mise-

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duos lapides magnos quadratos." *Chron.* vol. 2. p. 279. He was buried, however, with regal honours: "Corpus in lineis pannis, id est, vestibus candidis, quas habuit in consecratione sacro crismate delibutas, regaliter involutum, Rothomagum delatum est, et in ecclesia cathedrali prope majus altare cum honore tanto congruo principi tumulatur." Matt. Paris, *Hist.* vol. 1. p. 426.

Martene has printed from an early manuscript a form for blessing ashes upon which dying men might be laid (*de ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 1. p. 1023); this is sufficiently important to be added here. If any service of the kind was ever used in England, it would probably have been this:—

"*De benedictione et impositione cilicii. Si quis infirmus inunctus vel alius sanus illud recipere velit.*

"℣. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

"℟. Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

"℣. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

"℟. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

"℣. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

"℟. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

"℣. Dominus vobiscum.

"℟. Et cum spiritu tuo.

"Oremus.

"Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui peccatoribus pietatis tuæ misericordiam tuam quærentibus hoc indumento vestitis et misericordiam et veniam tribuisti, oramus clementiam tuam, ut hoc indumentum quod vocatur cilicium benedicere et sanctificare digneris, ut quicumque eo pro peccatis suis indutus fuerit, et misericordiam imploraverit, sanitatem corporis ac veniam et indulgentiam tuæ misericordiæ consequatur. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

"*Benedictio cineris.*

"Oremus.

"Deus indulgentiæ, Deus pietatis et misericordiæ, qui Ninivitis cinere et cilicio indutis et misericordiam tuam clamantibus subvenisti; exaudi nos propitius, ut hanc creaturam cineris, quo peccatores indulgentiam tuæ misericordiæ implorantes utuntur, benedicere et sanctificationis tuæ gratiam super eum infundere digneris, ut quisquis illius aspersus fuerit pulvere, indulgentiam et remissionem cunctorum a te pio domino percipere mereatur delictorum: Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

"*Tunc extende in terram cilicium, et de cinere benedicto super illud a sacerdote fiat crux et aquæ*

rere *i.* *Item ps.* Deus in nomine tuo. *Item vers.* Suscipe me secundum eloquium tuum et vivam: et non confundas me ab expectatione mea. Et quæ est expectatio mea? nonne Dominus? *Vel sic,* Domine, Jesu Christe, suscipe spiritum meum. *Item.* Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori. *Item vers.* In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis. *Item vers.* Delicta juventutis meæ: et ignorantias meas ne memineris. *Item vers.* Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine, &c. *Item vers.* Ne projicias me, Domine, in tempore senectutis: cum defecerit virtus mea ne derelinquas me.[32]

℄ *Sciendum est*[33] *autem quod non licet alicui mi-*

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benedictæ aspersio, et super illud ponatur infirmus vel alius. Deinde fiat crux cum aqua benedicta et cinere super pectus illius, et dicat:

"Recordare quia cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris.

"*Et rursus sacerdos dicit ad illum:*

"Placent tibi cinis et cilicium ad testimonium pœnitentiæ ante Deum in die judicii?

"℟. Placent.

"*Et tunc sacerdos superponens cilicium dicit:*

"Apud Deum misericordia et copiosa apud eum redemptio. Ita enim lapsis hominibus subvenit, ut non solum per baptismi et confirmationis gratiam, sed etiam per pœnitentiæ et unctionis medicinam spiritus humanus vitæ reparetur æternæ.

"℟. *Infirmus.* Deo gratias."

[32] A very ancient form of visitation and anointing of the sick and of giving viaticum is written by an Irish scribe of the ninth century at the end of a manuscript in the library of Trinity college, Dublin, which has been referred back to a bishop of Ferns, who died in 697. Mr. Warren has printed it as a *Missa de infirmis* (*Celtic liturgy,* p. 171); but it is a form of communion to be used in the sick man's room, and not a mass.

Every fragment which exists of the early Irish manuscripts is of the highest interest; as, probably, giving us some further traces of what the rites and prayers were in Britain before the coming of St. Augustine.

[33] These rubrics are in the York manual; the Sarum pontifical has only the first of them.

nistrare sacramentum unctionis extremæ nisi tantum sacerdoti: unde si aliquis non sacerdos attentaret hoc facere, nihil faceret consecratio.[34]

¶ *Loca vero ungenda sunt supradicta, et non alia, nisi in mutilatis: in quibus debent inungi loca magis propinqua.*[35] *Et notandum est quod si sacerdos jam aliquibus partibus inunctis aliis restantibus ad ungendum defecerit, partes inunctæ non sunt iterato ungendæ: sed quæ restant unctiones ungendæ per sacerdotem alium compleantur.*

¶ *Potest enim sacerdos uno clerico præsente infirmum inungere, et etiam sine clerico in necessitatis articulo.*

¶ *Moneant frequenter sacerdotes parochianos suos, quod omnes .xiiij. annorum et amplius se exhibeant ad sacramentum unctionis extremæ suscipiendum: quando mortis metus imminet.*

¶ *Doceant etiam eos quod hoc sacramentum licite potest iterari sine aliqua sui injuria: unde quotiens homo convaluerit et nova infirmitas iterato supervenerit, ex qua fuerit metus mortis, potest idem homo in unaquaque hujusmodi infirmitate inungi.*

¶ *In eadem quoque infirmitate hoc sacramentum iterari potest: nam in ægritudine diuturna debet fieri quando videtur deducere ad mortem. Et si illum articulum evadat, et eadem infirmitate durante*

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[34] "Consecrato," *Pontif. Sar.* et *Manual. Ebor.* "Collatio," editt. Douay, 1604, 1610.

[35] "Sed quid fiet de cæco a nativitate qui non peccavit per visum, vel de surdo a nativitate qui non peccavit per auditum, vel de claudo qui non peccavit per gressum? Nunquid debet inungi in istis membris? Dico quod sic: quia licet secus non peccaverit videndo tamen forte peccavit inordinate visum appetendo. Et idem dico de surdo et claudo." *Manipulus curatorum*, cap. vj. *De sacram. extr. unct.*

etiam postea ad statum similem reducatur, iterum potest inungi, quia alius est infirmitatis status licet sit eadem infirmitas; et si quis post hoc sacramentum convaluerit, nihilominus ad opus conjugale et ad omne opus honestum licite poterit reverti.

¶ *Hoc sacramentum non est conferendum euntibus ad bellum, vel ad duellum, peregrinis, aut navigantibus, vel his qui statim occidendi sunt.*[36]

¶ *Similiter pueri, phrenetici, furiosi, vel aliqui alii hujusmodi alienationem mentis patientes, eo quod debitam discretionem devotionis et veræ pœnitentiæ non habeant, ad hoc sacramentum non admittantur: nisi forte ipsi phrenetici, furiosi vel amentes in sana mente constituti, hoc sacramentum petierint, vel alias ante hujusmodi passionem seu mentis alienationem de sua salute fuerint solliciti, tunc nihilominus consulitur hoc sacramentum eis fiducialiter ministrari. In const. Lambeth. p. c. ult.*

¶ *Nota quod tempore interdicti non debet conferri sacramentum unctionis extremæ nec alia sacramenta: exceptis baptismo, confirmatione, pœnitentia, et viatico existentibus in articulo mortis tantum conferendo.*

Commendatio animæ in articulo mortis.

¶ *CUM vero anima in exitu seu dissolutione corporis visa fuerit laborare:*[37] *percutiatur*

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[36] "Quia talis mors non imminet ex defectu naturæ." *Man. Ebor.*

[37] An office similar to this is in the Bangor pontifical, "Ordo commendationis;" which is not to be confounded with the commendation of the soul after death. It consists of a short litany, the prayers "Deus misericors, Deus clemens;" "Suscipe Domine servum tuum;" and two others

tabula minute et acriter, et tunc omnes clerici cum summa velocitate accurrant, et dicant,

Credo in unum.

Deinde dicant .vij. psalmos pœnitentiales cum Gloria Patri, *ut supra.*

Quibus dictis, subjungatur hoc capitulum.

Parce, Domine, parce famulo tuo, quem redimere dignatus es pretioso sanguine tuo: ne in æternum irascaris ei.

Hoc capitulum dicatur tribus vicibus tam a sacerdote quam a toto conventu: ita tamen quod sacerdos prius dicat, et conventus repetat. Deinde dicatur sequens litania sine nota hoc modo.

Pater, de cœlis, Deus: miserere animæ famuli tui.

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especially of commendation. At the end are appointed a short prayer and some verses and responses with the psalm "Beati immaculati" if the dying man continues to live; "*si anxiatur adhuc anima.*" After this the rubric, "*Tunc fratres quibus præceptum fuerit lavent corpus ejus: et postea reinduant eum tunicam, cingulum, et braccas: et ponant eum in feretro, et ex præcepto majoris convocatis omnibus fratribus, stent ordinate in circuitu feretri juxta dispositionem majoris.*" Then follows the *Commendatio animæ.*

The Leofric MS. directs the histories of our blessed Lord's Passion, from the gospels, to be read either by priests or deacons whilst the sick man lingers (fol. 246); and orders the corpse to be first washed; then carried to the church, with antiphons and responses; and there to remain until mass shall have been celebrated; fol. 248.

Alcuin, who of course knew well the Anglo-saxon practice, supposes the same course to be taken during the imminence of death: "tunc canendi sunt septem psalmi pœnitentiales cum litaniis, prout tempus permiserit. Interim vero legantur passiones dominicæ ante eum, seu aliæ scripturæ sacræ," &c. Before this it is ordered for the dying man, "mutet habitum in cilicio et cinere seu viliori indumento." *Lib. de div. off.*

This office is not in the York manual, but the "commendatio animarum" after death follows extreme unction.

Fili, redemptor mundi, Deus: miserere animæ famuli tui.

Spiritus sancte, Deus: miserere animæ famuli tui.

Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus: miserere.

Sancte sanctorum Deus: miserere.

Qui es trinus et unus Deus: miserere.

Sancta Maria: intercede pro anima ejus.

Sancta Dei genitrix: intercede.

Sancta virgo virginum: intercede.

Sancte Michael: intercede.

Sancte Gabriel: intercede.

Sancte Raphael: intercede.

Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli: intercedite pro anima ejus.

Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines: intercedite pro anima ejus.

Sancte Johannes baptista: intercede.

Omnes sancti patriarchæ et prophetæ: intercedite pro anima ejus.

Sancte Petre: intercede.

Sancte Paule: intercede.

Sancte Andrea: intercede.

Sancte Mathæe: intercede.

Sancte Thoma: intercede.

Sancte Jacobe: intercede.

Sancte Johannes: intercede.

Sancte Philippe: intercede.

Sancte Jacobe: intercede.

Sancte Bartholomee: intercede.

Sancte Simon: intercede.

Sancte Juda: intercede.

Sancte Mathia: intercede.

Sancte Marce: intercede.

Sancte Luca: intercede.

Sancte Barnaba: intercede.

Omnes sancti apostoli et evangelistæ: intercedite pro anima ejus.

Omnes sancti discipuli Domini, et innocentes: intercedite.

Sancte Stephane: intercede.
Sancte Line: intercede.
Sancte Clete: intercede.
Sancte Clemens: intercede.
Sancte Corneli: intercede.
Sancte Laurenti: intercede.
Sancte Sixte: intercede.
Sancte Vincenti: intercede.
Sancte Georgi: intercede.
Sancte Fabiane: intercede.
Sancte Sebastiane: intercede.
Sancte Albane: intercede.
Sancte Edmunde: intercede.
Sancte Blasi: intercede.
Sancte Dionisi cum sociis tuis: intercedite.
Sancte Eustachi cum sociis tuis: intercedite.
Sancte Gervasi: intercede.
Sancte Prothasi: intercede.
Sancte Cosma: intercede.
Sancte Damiane: intercede.

Sancti Johannes et Paule: intercedite pro anima ejus.

Omnes sancti martyres: intercedite.
Sancte Benedicte: intercede.
Sancte Silvester: intercede.
Sancte Nicolae: intercede.
Sancte Martine: intercede.
Sancte Hilari: intercede.
Sancte Ambrosi: intercede.

Sancte Hieronyme: intercede.
Sancte Augustine: intercede.
Sancte Birine: intercede.
Sancte Swithune: intercede.
Sancte Athewolde: intercede.
Sancte Dunstane: intercede.
Sancte Cuthberte: intercede.
Sancte Leonarde: intercede.
Sancte Egidi: intercede.
Omnes sancti confessores: intercedite.
Omnes sancti monachi, et eremitæ: intercedite.
Sancta Maria Magdalena: intercede pro anima ejus.
Sancta Maria Ægyptiaca: intercede pro anima ejus.
Sancta Felicitas: intercede.
Sancta Perpetua: intercede.
Sancta Cecilia: intercede.
Sancta Lucia: intercede.
Sancta Agatha: intercede.
Sancta Agnes: intercede.
Sancta Fides: intercede.
Sancta Katherina: intercede.
Sancta Scolastica: intercede.
Sancta Juliana: intercede.
Sancta Margareta: intercede.
Sancta Anastasia: intercede.
Sancta Petronella: intercede.
Sancta Editha: intercede.
Sancta Brigida: intercede.
Omnes sanctæ virgines: intercedite pro anima ejus.
Omnes sancti: intercedite pro anima ejus.
Propitius esto, parce et dimitte ei omnia peccata sua, Domine.

Ab omni malo: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Ab hoste iniquo: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Ab insidiis et laqueis diaboli: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Ab incursu malignorum spirituum: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

A timore inimicorum: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Ab ira tua: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

A damnatione perpetua: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

A pœnis inferni: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

A periculo mortis: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

A pondere peccatorum: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per immensam pietatem tuam: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per mysterium sanctæ incarnationis tuæ: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per sanctam circumcisionem tuam: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per sanctam apparitionem tuam: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per baptismum tuum: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per jejunium tuum: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per passionem et crucem tuam: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per piissimam mortem tuam: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per gloriosam resurrectionem tuam: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per adventum Sancti spiritus paracleti: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Per intercessionem omnium sanctorum tuorum: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

In die judicii: libera et defende animam ejus, Domine.

Peccatores, te rogamus audi nos.

Ut animam famuli tui de principibus tenebrarum, et de locis pœnarum liberare digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut eam ab inferorum cruciatibus liberare digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut cuncta ejus peccata oblivioni perpetuæ tradere digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut ei omnes lubricæ temeritatis offensas dimittere digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut delicta juventutis ejus et ignorantias non reminiscaris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut quicquid vitiorum fallente diabolo, et propria iniquitate atque fragilitate contraxit, clementer indulgere digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut eum in pacis ac lucis regione constituere digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut ei gaudium et exultationem in regno tuo, cum sanctis et electis tuis donare digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut nos exaudire digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Fili Dei:

Te rogamus audi nos.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi:

Miserere animæ ejus.

Christe Jesu:

Miserere animæ ejus.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi:

Dona ei pacem, æternamque felicitatem, et gloriam sempiternam. Amen.

Proficiscere anima Christiana de hoc mundo: in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis, qui te creavit. Amen.

In nomine Jesu Christi Filii ejus, qui pro te passus est. Amen.

In nomine Spiritus sancti, qui in te infusus est. Amen.

In nomine angelorum et archangelorum. Amen.

In nomine thronorum et dominationum. Amen.

In nomine principatuum et potestatum et omnium cœlestium virtutum. Amen.

In nomine cherubin et seraphin. Amen.

In nomine patriarcharum et prophetarum. Amen.

In nomine apostolorum et martyrum. Amen.

In nomine confessorum et episcoporum. Amen.

In nomine sacerdotum et levitarum, et omnium ecclesiæ catholicæ graduum. Amen.

In nomine monachorum et anachoretarum. Amen.

In nomine virginum et fidelium viduarum, hodie

in pace locus tuus fiat: et habitatio tua in cœlesti Hierusalem. Amen.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Suscipe itaque, Domine, servum tuum in bonum et lucidum habitaculum tuum. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui ex omnibus periculis infernorum et de locis pœnarum et de omnibus doloribus tribulationum. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Enoch et Heliam de morte communi. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Loth de Sodomis et de flamma ignis. Amen..

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Isaac de manu patris sui Abrahæ. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Moysen de manu Pharaonis. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Job de passionibus suis. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti David de manu Goliæ et de manu Saul regis. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Danielem de lacu leonum. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Susannam de falso crimine. Amen.

Libera, Domine, animam servi tui, sicut liberasti Petrum et Paulum de vinculis. Amen.

Sicut liberasti sanctos servos tuos de tormentis: sic liberare digneris animam servi tui de gehennæ incendiis, et ab omnibus angustiis. Amen.

Commendatio Animarum.

SEQUATUR commendatio animarum, et dicatur in camera vel in aula sine nota juxta corpus, et omnia subsequenter similiter usque ad processionem ad hominem mortuum suscipiendum.

Post commendationem sequatur,

Resp. Subvenite sancti Dei, occurrite angeli Domini, suscipientes animam ejus. Offerentes eam in conspectu altissimi.

Versus. Suscipiat te Christus qui vocavit te, et in sinum Abrahæ angeli deducant te.

Offerentes.

Sequatur oratio sine Dominus vobiscum *et sine* Oremus.

Oratio.

Tibi, Domine, commendamus animam famuli tui .*N.* ut defunctus sæculo tibi vivat, et quæ per fragilitatem mundanæ conversationis peccata admisit, tu venia misericordissimæ pietatis absterge. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Misericordiam tuam, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, pietatis affectu rogare pro aliis cogimur, qui pro nostris supplicare peccatis nequaquam sufficimus: tamen de tua confisi gratuita pietate et inolita benignitate clementiam tuam deposcimus, ut animam famuli tui *N.* ad te revertentem cum pietate suscipias. Adsit ei angelus testamenti tui Michael, et per manus sanctorum an-

gelorum tuorum in sinu Abrahæ patriarchæ tui eam collocare digneris: quatenus liberata de principibus tenebrarum et de locis pœnarum, nullis jam primævæ nativitatis vel ignorantiæ aut propriæ iniquitatis seu fragilitatis confundatur erroribus, sed potius agnoscatur a tuis, et sanctæ beatitudinis requie perfruatur, atque cum magni judicii dies advenerit, inter sanctos et electos tuos aggregata, gloria manifestæ contemplationis tuæ perpetuo satietur. Per Christum.

Ant. Suscipiat te Christus qui vocavit te, et in sinum Abrahæ angeli deducant te.

Ps. In exitu.

Totus psalmus dicitur sine Gloria patri. *Ut inferius patebit, scilicet in officio sepulturæ.*

Quo finito dicat sacerdos.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui humano corpori animam ad similitudinem tuam inspirare dignatus es, dum te jubente pulvis in pulverem revertitur, tu imaginem tuam cum sanctis et electis tuis, æternis sedibus præcipias sociari, eamque ad te revertentem de Ægypti partibus blande leniterque suscipias, et angelos tuos sanctos ei obviam mittas, viamque illi justitiæ demonstra, et portas gloriæ illi aperi. Repelle, quæsumus, ab eo omnes principes tenebrarum et agnosce depositum fidele quod tuum est. Suscipe, Domine, creaturam tuam non ex diis alienis creatam, sed a te solo Deo vivo et vero, quia non est alius deus præter te Domine, et non est secundum opera tua. Lætifica, clementissime Pater, animam servi tui .*N.* et clarifica eam multitudine misericordiæ tuæ. Ne memineris quæsumus iniquitatum ejus antiquarum, et ebrietatum

quas suscitavit furor mali desiderii: licet enim peccaverit, tamen te non negavit, sed signo fidei insignitus te qui omnia et eum inter omnia fecisti, fideliter adoravit. Qui vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Ant. Chorus angelorum.

Psalmus. Dilexi quoniam exaudiet Dominus: vocem orationis meæ.

Psalmus. Credidi propter quod locutus sum.

Psalmus. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.

Ps. Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in sæculum misericordia eius.

Ps. Beati immaculati, *usque ad* Ad Dominum cum tribularer *sine* Gloria Patri.

Finitis psalmis incipiatur ant.

Chorus angelorum te suscipiat, et in sinu Abrahæ collocet, ut cum Lazaro quondam paupere æternam habeas requiem.

Qua finita dicat sacerdos.

Oremus. Diri vulneris novitate percussi et quodammodo cordibus sauciati, misericordiam tuam, mundi redemptor, flebilibus vocibus imploramus, ut cari nostri .*N.* animam ad tuam clementiam (qui fons es pietatis) revertentem blande leniterque suscipias: et si quas illa ex carnali commercio contraxit maculas, tu Deus solita bonitate clementer deleas, pie indulgeas, oblivioni in perpetuum tradas, atque hanc laudem tibi cum cæteris reddituram, et ad corpus proprium quandoque reversuram, sanctorum tuorum cœtibus aggregari præcipias. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis.

Hic roget sacerdos orare pro eo, ita dicens.

Pro anima *N.* et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.

Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera. Requiem æternam dona ei, Domine. Et lux perpetua luceat ei. A porta inferi. Exue Domine. Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, Domine. Quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Oratio. Partem beatæ resurrectionis obtineat, vitamque æternam mereatur habere in cœlis. Per te, salvator mundi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oremus. Deus cui soli competit medicinam præstare post mortem, tribue quæsumus, ut anima famuli tui *N.* terrenis exuta contagiis, in tuæ redemptionis parte numeretur.

Oratio.

Absolve quæsumus, Domine, animam famuli tui *N.* et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum ab omni vinculo delictorum, ut in resurrectionis gloria, inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per Christum.

¶ *Deinde*[38] *si corpus regis inuncti fuerit, qui migravit ex hoc sæculo, primo a suis cubiculariis corpus ejusdem aqua calida sive tepida lavetur. Deinde balsamo cum aromatibus ungatur per totum, et postea in panno lineo cerato involvatur, ita tamen quod facies et barba illius tantum pateant: et circa manus et digitos ipsius, dictus pannus ceratus ita sit dispositus ut quilibet digitus cum pollice utriusque manus*

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[38] The York manual has no rubric corresponding to this, but orders "*postea lavetur sacerdos a sacerdotibus.*" There are considerable variations throughout the office.

singulatim insuatur per se, ac si manus ejus chirothecis lineis essent coopertæ. Deinde corpus induatur tunica usque ad talos longa, et desuper pallio regali adornetur. Barba vero ipsius decenter componatur super pectus illius, et postmodum caput cum facie ipsius sudario serico cooperiatur: ac deinde corona regia aut diadema capiti ejusdem apponatur. Postea induantur manus ejus chirothecis cum aurofragiis ornatis et in medio digito dextræ manus imponatur annulus aureus aut deauratus, et in dextra manu sua pila rotunda, deaurata, in qua virga deaurata sit fixa, a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa, in cujus virgæ summitate sit signum dominicæ crucis, quod super pectus ejusdem principis honeste debet collocari. In sinistra vero manu sceptrum deauratum habeat usque ad aurem sinistram decenter protensum: ac postremo tibiæ et pedes ipsius caligis sericis et sandaliis induantur.

¶ *Deinde dictus princeps ita adornatus cum regni sui pontificibus et magnatibus, cum omni reverentia et exequiis regalibus honestissime tradatur sepulturæ.*

¶ *Si vero corpus alterius fuerit,*[39] *tunc tantum la-*

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[39] Priests were very usually buried with a chalice and a paten; not consecrated and often of some inferior metal or wax. Occasionally also in vestments; either entirely vested or with a surplice and stole. Bishops were clothed for burial with more solemnity; as, for example, the bishops of Durham in the "auncyente tyme. The accustomed burying of the bushopes was to be buried as he was accustomed to say masse, with his albe and stole and phannell and his vestment, with a myter on his head and his crutch [crozier] with him, and so laied in his coffine, with a little challice of sylver, other mettell, or wax; which wax challice was gilted verie fynly about the edge and knoppe in the myddes of the shanke of the challice, and aboute the edge of the patten or cover and the foote of it also was gilted: which challice was sett or laide upon his breast in the coffine with hime,

vetur corpus, aqua tepida vel calida si placeat, et postea linteamine mundo honeste involvatur, et in feretro locetur: clericis interim dicentibus vesperas de die et S. Mariæ et postea vigilias mortuorum.

Quibus dictis, dicantur sine nota psalmi sequentes.

Verba mea. Domine ne. Dilexi. Credidi. De profundis clamavi. *ps.* Voce mea.

Quibus finitis dicatur ant.

Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera. Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine. Et lux perpetua luceat eis. A porta inferi. Erue Domine animas eorum. Non intres in judicium. Quia non justificabitur.

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Suscipe, Domine, animam famuli tui *N.* ad te revertentem, veste quoque cœlesti indue eam et lava eam sancto fonte vitæ eternæ: ut inter gaudentes gaudeat, et inter sapientes sapiat, et inter martyres coronata incedat, et inter patriarchas et prophetas proficiat, et inter apostolos Christum sequi studeat, et inter angelos et archangelos claritatem Dei videat, et inter paradisi rutilos lapides gaudium Dei possideat, notitiamque mysteriorum Dei agnoscat, et inter cherubin et seraphin claritatem Dei videat, et inter vigintiquatuor seniores cantica canticorum audiat, et inter lavantes stolas suas in fonte luminis

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and the cover thereof nayled downe to yt." *Rites of the church of Durham*, p. 49. Chalices, patens, and croziers are frequently found in the graves where priests and bishops have been buried.

vestem lavet, et inter pulsantes, portas cœlestis Hierusalem apertas reperiat, et inter videntes Deum facie ad faciem videat, et inter cantantes canticum novum cantet, et inter audientes cœlestem sonum audiat. Per.

Alia oratio.

Suscipe, Domine, animam famuli tui *N*. quam de ergastulo hujus sæculi vocare dignatus es: et libera eam de principibus tenebrarum et de locis pœnarum, ut absoluta omni vinculo peccatorum quietis ac lucis eternæ beatitudine perfruatur, et inter sanctos et electos tuos in resurrectionis gloria resuscitari mereatur. Qui cum Deo Patre, &c.

Anima ejus et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace. Amen.

¶ *Deinde deportetur corpus ad ecclesiam, ibidem vel in cœmeterio humandum. Quando deportari debet corpus defuncti ad ecclesiam, in primis sumat sacerdos spiculam, et aspergat aquam benedictam super corpus exanime, interim dicendo psalmum.* De profundis.

Quo dicto sequatur,

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne nos. Requiem æternam. A porta inferi. Credo videre.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Oratio. Inclina Domine.

Et oratio. Fidelium Deus omnium conditor.

Et finiantur sub una conclusione sic: Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto, &c.

Requiescant in pace. Amen.

¶ *Si vero fuerit corpus mortuum cum processione sepeliendum, tunc eodem modo ordinetur processio,*

sicut in simplicibus dominicis, præter quod in hac processione sacerdos et ministri ejus in albis cum amictibus induti incedant: chorus autem in cappis nigris quotidianis. Et cum ad locum destinatum pervenerit processio, cadaver ipsum sacerdos aqua benedicta aspergat, et postea thurificet: interim dicendo psalmum: De profundis clamavi, *ut supra dictum est.*

¶ *Deinde in redeundo, dum deportatur corpus ad ecclesiam, cantetur sequens antiphona cantore incipiente.*

Antiphona. Subvenite sancti Dei, occurrite angeli Domini, suscipientes animam ejus, offerentes eam in conspectu altissimi.

Vers. Suscipiat te Christus, qui vocavit te: et in sinum Abrahæ angeli deducant te.

Repetatur antiphona. Subvenite.

Deinde dicatur psalmus. De profundis: *et post unumquemque versum repetatur antiphona: et postea si necesse fuerit, dicatur eodem ordine ps.* In exitu.

Deinde in introitu cœmeterii vel citius inchoetur, Resp. Libera me Domine: *et dicatur cum hoc v. tantum* Dies illa.

Nunquam autem portetur corpus alicujus defuncti circa cœmeterium: sed directe in ecclesiam: et si corpus canonici vel alterius magnatis fuerit, in chorum deferatur, sin autem, extra chorum in ecclesia post orationem relinquatur.

¶ *In introitu ecclesiæ dicitur hæc antiphona, cantore incipiente.*

Antiphona. In paradisum deducant te angeli in suum conventum, suscipiant te martyres et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Hierusalem.

Vers. Requiem æternam dona eis Domine, et lux

perpetua luceat eis. *Repetatur antiphona.* In paradisum: *qua finita sequatur.*

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleyson.

❡ *Deinde aspergat sacerdos aqua benedicta corpus defuncti et thurificet: rogans astantes orare pro anima defuncti, ita dicens.*

Pro anima .*N*. et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.

Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera. A porta inferi. Erue Domine animas eorum. Non intres in judicium. Quia non justificabitur.

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Oratio. Suscipe, Domine, servum tuum in bonum habitaculum, et da ei requiem in regno cœlestis Hierusalem: ut in sinu Abrahæ patriarchæ tui collocatus, resurrectionis diem præstoletur, et inter resurgentes ad gloriam resurgat, et cum benedictis ad dexteram Dei venientibus veniat, et cum possidentibus vitam æternam possideat. Per Christum.

Anima ejus et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum, per Dei misericordiam in pace requiescant. Amen.

Deinde dicantur solemniter vigiliæ mortuorum et postea completorium de die more solito.

Ubi vero[40] *in die sepulturæ deportetur corpus ad*

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[40] This rubric, as it would seem, is an interpolation from earlier manuscripts, and ought to have been added at the end, after the verse "Aperite mihi." The digging of the grave would occupy almost always more time than the saying of the mass for the dead. The office of commendation appears to have been peculiar to English use, and is not in the Roman rituals. It was not said necessarily on the day of burial; but on the day of the death, or on the eve of the burial. One or two of the preceding rubrics depended, as to their observance, on the time of the funeral itself and on the ceremonies of the procession

ecclesiam, tunc immediate post prædictam orationem, Suscipe Domine, *dicatur commendatio animarum solemniter, et finito psalmo* Domine probasti : *statim incipiatur missa pro defunctis.*

Deinde exeat sacerdos cum stola, et aqua benedicta, ad locum ubi sepeliendus est mortuus : et signo crucis signet locum, et postea aspergat aqua benedicta.

Deinde accipiat sacerdos fossorium, vel aliud instrumentum, et aperiat terram in modum crucis, ad longitudinem et latitudinem corporis defuncti dicens.

Aperite mihi portas justitiæ, et ingressus in eas confitebor Domino : hæc porta Domini, justi intrabunt in eam.[41]

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which accompanied it. There would probably be no difficulty in practice in reconciling their apparently different directions.

The rite of marking out the limits of the grave by the priest must have had a solemn and pious effect. It seems to be as it were a parallel to the ceremonial laying and benediction of the foundation stone of a church. The first step taken towards the preparation of the "last home" and house of a dead Christian was not to be done hastily, and without remembrance of the time when the doors of it should be again opened at the sound of the trumpet of the archangel.

[41] With the exception of the substitution of *episcopus* for *sacerdos* and of a few other unimportant verbal differences, the office of commendation is the same in the Sarum pontifical.

Inhumatio Defuncti.

Inhumatio Defuncti.[1]

POST missam[2] accedat sacerdos ad caput defuncti, alba indutus, absque cappa serica: et duo clerici de secunda forma ad caput defuncti stantes, incipiunt tribus vicibus antiphonam sequentem, quam chorus singulis vicibus totam prosequatur usque in finem.

Ant. Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me.

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[1] This office is in the Bangor pontifical; unhappily the rubric is not only rubbed and defaced but the initial letter has been cut out, and with it other portions of the text. If I am not mistaken, the following is the correct reading :—

"*Ordo ad sepeliendum corpus. Finita missa, sacerdos sine casula cum ministris: subdiaconus cum cruce, et omnes . . gradu suo veniant ordinate cum luminaribus, et stent in circuitu feretri in modum rotæ. Et sacerdos a capite incipiat absolute.* Non intres," &c.

[2] "Secundum antiquam Angliæ consuetudinem, ut ex rubricis liquido apparet, nullius defuncti corpus sepeliendum est, nisi pro anima ejus prius oblato missæ sacrificio. Si igitur corpus defuncti post vesperas deferatur ad ecclesiam, ibi insepultum relinquendum est, usque in diem sequentem, et tunc missa prius pro anima celebrata, sepeliendum. Si vero aliquando contigerit corpus defùncti matutino tempore ante missam deferri ad ecclesiam, observanda est rubrica de qua modo agitur." *Annot.* edit. Douay, 1610.

"Si vero cum processione homo mortuus sit suscipiendus, sacerdos et minister in albis incedant; chorus autem in cappis nigris: et cum ad locum destinatum pervenerit processio, cadaver ipsum sacerdos aqua benedicta aspergat, deinde thurificet. Postea vero in ecclesiam redeant; et si canonicus fuerit cujus corpus defertur, in chorum deferatur. Sin autem extra chorum in ecclesia dicta oratione relinquatur." *Consuetudinarium eccles. Sarum.* In MS. registr. S. Osmundi, fol. 14 *b.*

Deinde post tertiam repetitionem sequatur:

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Non dicatur Pater noster, *nec* Dominus vobiscum, *neque* Oremus: *sed tantum oratio, sacerdote dicente modesta voce, videlicet sine nota:*

Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, *vel* servula tua, Domine, quoniam nullus apud te justificabitur homo, nisi per te omnium peccatorum tribuatur remissio: non ergo eum *vel* eam tua quæsumus judicialis sententia premat, quem *vel* quam tibi vera supplicatio fidei christianæ commendat: sed gratia tua illi succurrente mereatur evadere judicium ultionis, qui *vel* quæ dum viveret insignitus *vel* insignita est signaculo sanctæ Trinitatis. In qua vivis et regnas, etc.

Eodem modo dicuntur omnes orationes sequentes.

Deinde incipiat cantor. Resp.

Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fœtidum: Tu eis Domine dona requiem et locum indulgentiæ.

Vers. Qui venturus es judicare vivos, et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem.

Tu eis.

℃ *Et percantetur a choro cum suo versu, et interim sacerdos cum thuribulo circumeundo corpus, illud incenset. Similiter fiat in responsoriis sequentibus.*

Deinde dicitur. Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Sine Pater noster, *et sine* Dominus vobiscum. *Sed tantum cum.* Oremus.

Oratio.[3] Deus cui omnia vivunt, cui non pereunt

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[3] A prayer similar to this in the beginning, but considerably shorter, is in the Bangor pontifical; then a response, with directions for incensing as in the text; then the prayer "Fac quæsumus;" response, "Libera," and verses; and the "Kyrie eleison."

moriendo corpora nostra, sed mutantur in melius, te supplices deprecamur, ut quicquid famulus *vel* famula tuus *vel* tua vitiorum tuæ voluntati contrarium, fallente diabolo, et propria iniquitate atque fragilitate contraxit, tu pius et misericors abluas indulgendo, ejusque animam suscipi jubeas, per manus sanctorum angelorum tuorum deducendam in sinum patriarcharum tuorum, Abrahæ scilicet amici tui, et Isaac electi tui, atque Iacob dilecti tui, quo aufugit dolor et tristitia, atque suspirium, fidelium quoque animæ felici jocunditate lætantur, et in novissimo magni judicii die inter sanctos et electos tuos eam facias perpetuæ gloriæ tuæ percipere portionem, quam oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, et in cor hominis non ascendit quam præparasti diligentibus te. Per Christum.

Resp.

Heu mihi, Domine, quia peccavi in vita mea: quid faciam miser? ubi fugiam, nisi ad te Deus meus? miserere mei. Dum veneris in novissimo die.

Vers. Anima mea turbata est valde, sed tu, Domine, succurre ei. Dum veneris.

¶ *Et percantetur a choro cum suo versu, et interim incensetur corpus ut supra.*

Deinde sequatur:

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleison.

Sine Pater noster, *et sine* Dominus vobiscum: *sed tantum cum* Oremus.

Fac quæsumus, Domine, hanc cum servulo tuo defuncto *vel* servula tua defuncta misericordiam, ut factorum suorum in pœnis non recipiat vicem, qui *vel* quæ tuam in votis tenuit voluntatem: et quia hic illum *vel* illam vera fides junxit fidelium turmis,

illic eum *vel* eam tua miseratio societ angelicis choris. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Deinde incipiat cantor. Responsorium.

Libera me, Domine, de morte æterna in die illa tremenda, quando cœli movendi sunt et terra. Dum veneris judicare sæculum per ignem.

Vers. Dies illa, dies iræ, calamitatis et miseriæ: dies magna et amara valde.

Et percantetur a choro cum uno versu tantum, scilicet Dies illa *ut supra, et interim incensetur corpus a sacerdote semel circumeundo, et postea aspergatur aqua benedicta: deinde sequatur:*

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Deinde roget sacerdos[4] *circumstantes orare pro anima defuncti dicens.*

Pro anima *N.* et pro animabus omnium fidelium[5] defunctorum. Pater noster.

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[4] "*Deinde dicat sacerdos circumstantibus alta voce:* Pater noster. Et ne nos. *Vers.* Requiem æternam. *Vers.* A porta inferi. *Vers.* Requiescant in pace. Domine exaudi. Dominus vobiscum. *Oratio.* Absolve quæsumus Domine animam famuli tui .N. ut defunctus sæculo tibi vivat: et quæ per fragilitatem carnis humana conversatione commisit, tu venia misericordissimæ pietatis absterge: per Christum. *Finita oratione præcipiat fratribus ut accipiant feretrum: et deportent defunctum ad tumulum: et dum portatur, clerici cantent has subsequentes antiphonas.* In paradisum," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

[5] Among the very curious mediæval stories, or examples intended to enforce obedience to the commandments, in *The floure of the commaundements of God*, is one of a "dyse player" who died blaspheming "horrybly god and the vyrgyn mary." The body of a man who had died some few years before rose from his grave in the churchyard and forbade the burial: and three things are taught by the story. "The thyrde denoteth y[t] the body of one dampned, the whiche is deed manifestly in mortall synne, sholde not be buryed in holy grounde with the good crysten men that be in paradyse." Fol. cl. *b*.

Et ne nos inducas. Sed libera nos a malo.

Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, *vel* servula tua Domine.

Quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.

A porta inferi.

Erue, Domine, animas eorum.

Credo videre bona Domini.

In terra viventium.

Domine exaudi.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quibus misericordiam tuam supplices deprecamur, ut animam famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ, quam de hoc sæculo migrare jussisti, in pacis ac lucis regione constituas, et sanctorum tuorum jubeas esse consortem. Per Christum.

Hic deportetur corpus ad sepulchrum cantore incipiente.

Ant. In paradisum. E. u. o. u. a. e.[6]

Ps. In exitu Israel de Ægypto.

℄ *Alius psalmus si tantum restat iter, scilicet.*

Ad te Domine levavi animam meam.

Finito psalmo vel psalmis, dicatur iste versus.

Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis.

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[6] "When the antiphons are chanted, the tone of each psalm follows that of its antiphon. The cadence also of the tone is regulated by the antiphon. The tone and cadence are indicated, in graduals, offices of the dead, &c., by the vowels of *seculorum amen,* e. u. o. u. a. e, set to notes at the end of the antiphon." Jones, *Manual of plain-chant,* p. 17. "Omni sabbato antiphona super 'Benedictus' habet suum Euouæ, id est, 'sæculorum amen.'" *Defensorium directorii.*

Deinde repetatur antiphona.

In paradisum deducant te angeli, in suum conventum suscipiant te martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Hierusalem.

Quibus dictis,[7] *dicat sacerdos sine* Dominus vobiscum, *sed tantum cum* Oremus, *humili voce:*

Piæ recordationis affectu, fratres carissimi, commemorationem faciamus cari nostri *vel* caræ nostræ quem *vel* quam Dominus noster de tentationibus hujus sæculi assumpsit. Obsecremus misericordiam Dei nostri, ut ipse ei tribuere dignetur placitam et quietam mansionem, et remittat ei omnes lubricæ temeritatis offensas, ut concessa sibi venia plenæ indulgentiæ quicquid in hoc sæculo proprio vel alieno reatu deliquit, totum ineffabili pietate ac benignitate sua deleat, et abstergat. Per Christum.

Alia oratio cum Oremus. *Oratio.*

Te Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, suppliciter deprecamur pro spiritu fratris nostri *vel* sororis nostræ, quem *vel* quam a voraginibus hujus sæculi accersiri jussisti, ut digneris, Domine, dare ei lucidum locum refrigerii et quietis. Liceat ei transire portas inferorum et pœnas tenebrarum, maneatque in mansionibus sanctorum, et in luce

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[7] "*Cum autem venerint ad tumulum, sacerdos cum feretro stet juxta tumulum: et cantatis antiphonis, dicat hanc orationem absolute.* Deus qui fundasti, &c.

"*Dicta oratione accipiat aquam benedictam, et aspergat corpus defuncti et tumulum: et postea similiter incenset.*

"*Quibus peractis: incipiat cantor in persona defuncti ant.* Aperite: *et mox ponatur corpus in tumulum. Et dum cantantur subscriptæ antiphonæ cum suis psalmis, sepeliatur corpus.* Aperite mihi," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.* Then follow the antiphons, and the psalms Confitemini, Quemadmodum, Memento, Domine probasti, Domine exaudi, Laudate Dominum, Benedictus.

sancta quam olim Abrahæ promisisti et semini ejus. Nullam læsionem sentiat spiritus ejus, sed cum magnus ille dies resurrectionis advenerit, resuscitare eum *vel* eam digneris una cum sanctis et electis tuis, deleasque ejus omnia delicta atque peccata usque ad novissimum quadrantem, tecumque immortalitatis tuæ vitam et regnum consequatur æternum. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Finitis orationibus aperiatur sepulchrum: cantore incipiente antiphonam.

Aperite. E. u. o. u. a. e.

Psalmus. Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus.

¶ *Finito psalmo tota dicatur antiphona.*

Aperite mihi portas justitiæ, et ingressus in eas confitebor Domino: hæc porta Domini, justi intrabunt in eam.

Qua dicta dicat sacerdos. Oremus.

Oratio.

Obsecramus misericordiam tuam, omnipotens æterne Deus, qui hominem ad imaginem tuam creare dignatus es, ut animam famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ *N.* quam hodierna die rebus humanis eximi, et ad te accersiri jussisti, blande et misericorditer suscipias. Non ei dominentur umbræ mortis, nec tegat eum *vel* eam chaos et caligo tenebrarum, sed exutus *vel* exuta omnium criminum labe in sinu Abrahæ collocatus *vel* collocata, locum refrigerii se adeptum *vel* adeptam esse gaudeat: ut cum dies judicii advenerit, cum sanctis et electis tuis eum *vel* eam resuscitari jubeas. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Alia oratio cum Oremus.

Deus qui justis supplicationibus semper præsto es, qui pia vota dignaris intueri, da famulo tuo *vel* famulæ tuæ *N.* cujus depositioni hodie officia huma-

nitatis exhibemus, cum sanctis atque fidelibus tuis beati muneris portionem. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Deinde dicatur benedictio sepulchri, sine Oremus, *hoc modo.*

Rogamus te, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, ut bene✠dicere et sanctificare digneris hoc sepulchrum, et corpus in eo collocandum: ut sit remedium salutare in eo quiescenti et redemptio animæ ejus atque tutela et munimen contra sæva jacula inimici. Per Christum.

Alia benedictio tumuli.

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini. Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

Benedic, Domine, locum sepulchri hujus, sicut benedixisti sepulchra Abrahæ, Isaac, et Iacob.

Vers. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.

Resp. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

Oratio. Deus qui fundasti terram et formasti cœlos, qui omnia sideribus instituta fixisti, qui captum laqueis mortis hominem lavacri ablutione reparas, qui sepultos Abraham, Isaac, et Iacob in spelunca duplici, in libro vitæ ac totius gloriæ principes annotasti benedicendos: ita bene✠dicere digneris hunc famulum tuum *vel* ancillam tuam, ut eum *vel* eam requiescere facias, et in sinu Abrahæ collocare digneris: qui dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, devictis laqueis inferorum resurgere, et in se credentium suorum membra resuscitare jussisti. Qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et sæculum per ignem.

Oratio. Respice, Domine, super hanc fabricam sepulturæ, et descendat in eam Spiritus tuus, ut te jubente sit ei in hoc loco quieta dormitio, et

tempore judicii cum omnibus sanctis sit vera resurrectio. Te prestante Domino nostro, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivis et regnas per cuncta sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ *Hic aspergatur aqua benedicta super sepulchrum, et incensetur sepulchrum.*

Finitis orationibus ponatur corpus in sepulchro cantore incipiente:

Ant. Ingrediar. E. u. o. u. a. e.

Psalmus. Quemadmodum desiderat cervus.

¶ *Dicto psalmo repetatur antiphona.*

Ingrediar in locum tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad domum Dei.

¶ *Qua dicta*[8] *dicat sacerdos orationem hoc modo.*

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[8] "*Et interim dum istæ antiphonæ* (vide note 7) *cantantur cum suis psalmis, sacerdos dicat has orationes.* Oremus fratres. Deus cui omnia vivunt. Temeritatis quidem est.

"Opus est misericordiæ Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, rogare pro aliis qui pro nostris supplicare peccatis nequaquam sufficimus: suscipe, rogamus, animam famuli tui .N. revertentem ad te. Adsit ei angelus testamenti tui Michael: et per manus sanctorum angelorum tuorum inter sanctos et electos tuos in sinibus Abrahæ, Isaac, et Jacob, patriarcharum tuorum eam collocare digneris. Libera eum (eam?) Domine de principibus tenebrarum et de locis pœnarum: ne famulus tuus ullis jam primævæ nativitatis vel ignorantiæ confundatur erroribus. Agnoscatur a tuis, et misericordia bonitatis tuæ ad locum refrigerii et quietis in sinum Abrahæ transferatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

"Debitum humani corporis.

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui humano corpori animam inspirare dignatus es, dum te jubente pulvis in pulverem revertitur: tu imaginem tuam cum sanctis et electis tuis æternis sedibus jubeas sociari: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

"*His omnibus expletis, postquam sepultus fuerit, sacerdos cum aqua benedicta aspergat tumulum, et dicat alta voce.* Pater noster. *Et omnes sub silentio dicant.* Pater noster, &c. *Oratio.* Satisfaciat tibi, Domine.

"Dominus vobiscum.

"Anima ejus et animæ om-

Oremus, fratres carissimi, pro spiritu cari nostri *vel* caræ nostræ *N.* quem Dominus de laqueo hujus sæculi liberare dignatus est, cujus corpusculum hodie sepulturæ· traditur, ut eum *vel* eam pietas Domini in sinu Abrahæ collocare dignetur, ut cum magni judicii dies advenerit, inter sanctos et electos suos eum *vel* eam in parte dextera collocandum *vel* collocandam resuscitari faciat. Qui vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Alia oratio cum Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus qui humanarum animarum æternus amator es, animam famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ *N.* quam vera dum in corpore maneret tenuit fides, ab omni cruciatu inferorum redde extorrem, ut segregata ab infernalibus claustris sanctorum tuorum mereatur adunari consortiis. Per Christum.

¶ *Finitis orationibus claudatur sepulchrum, ponente prius sacerdote absolutionem super pectus defuncti, sic dicendo:*

Dominus Jesus Christus qui beato Petro apostolo suo, cæterisque discipulis suis licentiam dedit ligandi atque solvendi, ipse te *N.* absolvat ab omni vinculo delictorum, et in quantum meæ fragilitati permittitur, precor sis absolutus *vel* absoluta ante tribunal ejusdem domini nostri Jesu Christi, habeasque vitam æternam et vivas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

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nium fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace.

"*Resp.* Amen. *Et statim cantor incipiat resp.* Memento mei.

"*Cum quo revertuntur in ecclesiam. Cumque pervenerint in ecclesiam . . . stent in ecclesia, sc. in choro* (?) *et finito responsorio sacerdos dicat:*

"Pater noster. Et ne nos.

"Tibi, Domine, commendamus animam famuli tui," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

Hic aspergatur tumulus aqua benedicta et incensetur, cantore incipiente antiphonam.

Hæc requies mea. E. u. o. u. a. e.

Ps. Memento Domine David, et omnis mansuetudinis ejus.

Finito psalmo sequatur antiphona:

Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi : hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam.

℄ *Qua dicta dicat sacerdos orationem, cum* Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus, apud quem spiritus mortuorum vivunt, et in quo electorum animæ, deposito carnis onere, plena felicitate lætantur, præsta supplicantibus nobis, ut anima famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ *N.* quæ temporali per corpus visionis hujus luminis caruit visu, æternæ illius lucis solatio potiatur. Non eam tormentum mortis attingat, nec dolor horrendæ visionis afficiat. Non pœnalis timor excruciet, non reorum pessima catena constringat, sed concessa sibi venia omnium delictorum, optatæ quietis consequatur gaudia repromissa. Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Alia oratio cum Oremus. *Oratio.*

Tu Domine Deus omnipotens, precibus nostris aurem tuæ pietatis accommodare digneris, tu miseris opem feras et misericordiam largiaris, et spiritum famuli tui *vel* famulæ *N.* vinculis corporalibus liberatum in pacem sanctorum tuorum recipias, ut locum pœnalem et gehennæ ignem in regionem viventium translatus evadat. Per Christum.

℄ *Finitis orationibus executor officii terram super corpus ad modum crucis ponat, et corpus thurificet et aqua benedicta aspergat: et dum sequens psalmus canitur, corpus omnino cooperiatur, cantore incipiente antiphonam.*

De terra plasmasti me. E. u. o. u. a. e.

Psalmus. Domine probasti me et cognovisti me.

Finito psalmo, tota dicatur antiphona.

De terra plasmasti me, et carnem induisti me, redemptor meus Domine, resuscita me in novissimo die.

Qua dicta dicat sacerdos sine Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus.

Commendo animam tuam Deo Patri omnipotenti, terram terræ, cinerem cineri, pulverem pulveri, in nomine Patris, etc.

Deinde dicat sacerdos hanc orationem, sine Oremus.

Oratio. Temeritatis quidem est, Domine, ut homo hominem, mortalis mortalem, cinis cinerem tibi Domino Deo nostro audeat commendare: sed quia terra suscipit terram et pulvis convertitur in pulverem, donec omnis caro in suam redigatur originem, inde tuam Deus piissime Pater lachrymabiliter quæsumus pietatem, ut hujus famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ *N.* animam quam creasti de hujus mundi voragine cœnolenta ad patriam ducas, Abrahæ amici tui sinu recipias, (*et*?) refrigerii rore perfundas. Sit ab æstuantis gehennæ truci incendio segregata, et beatæ requiei, te donante, conjuncta. Et si quæ illi sunt, Domine, dignæ cruciatibus culpæ, tu eas gratia tuæ mitissimæ lenitatis indulge, ne peccati vicem sed indulgentiæ tuæ piam sentiat bonitatem. Cumque finito mundi termino supernum cunctis illuxerit regnum, novus homo sanctorum omnium cœtibus aggregatus *vel* aggregata cum electis tuis resurgat in parte dextera coronandus *vel* coronanda. Per Christum.

Alia oratio. Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus vitæ dator, et humanorum corporum repa-

rator, qui te a peccatoribus exorari voluisti, exaudi preces quas speciali devotione pro anima famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ *N.* tibi lachrymabiliter fundimus: ut liberare eam ab inferorum cruciatibus et collocare eam inter agmina sanctorum tuorum digneris, veste quoque cœlesti et stola immortalitatis indui, et paradisi amœnitate confoveri jubeas. Per Christum.

Finita oratione incipiat cantor antiphonam.

Omnis spiritus. E. u. o. u. a. e.

Psalmus. Laudate Dominum de cœlis.

Ps. Cantate Domino canticum novum.

Ps. Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus.

¶ *Finito psalmo, tota dicatur antiphona, scilicet.*

Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum.

Qua dicta dicat sacerdos sine Dominus vobiscum, *et sine* Oremus.

Oratio. Debitum humani corporis sepeliendi officium fidelium more complentes, Deum cui omnia vivunt fideliter deprecemur, ut hoc corpus cari nostri *vel* caræ nostræ *N.* a nobis infirmitate sepultum, in ordine sanctorum suorum resuscitet, et ejus spiritum sanctis ac fidelibus aggregari jubeat, cum quibus inenarrabili gloria et perenni felicitate perfrui mereatur. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium ejus. Qui cum eo vivit, etc.

Finita oratione incipiat sacerdos antiphonam. Et intonetur ps. Benedictus, *modo sequenti:*[9] *totus ps. dicatur et cantetur hic solemniter sicut ad matutinas.*

Ant. Ego sum.

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[9] "Iste psalmus non cantetur hic solemniter sicut ad vesperas: sed communiter ut alii psalmi." *Pontif. Sar.*

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel: quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis suæ.

Finito psalmo, tota dicatur antiphona.

Ego sum resurrectio et vita, qui credit in me etiam si mortuus fuerit vivet, et omnis qui vivit et credit in me non morietur in æternum.

Qua dicta sequatur hoc modo.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Hic roget sacerdos orare pro anima defuncti, ita dicens:

Pro anima *N.* et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.[10] Pater noster.

¶ *Deinde dicat sacerdos.*

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo.

Requiem æternam dona eis Domine.

Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

A porta inferi.

Exue Domine animas eorum.

Credo videre bona Domini.

In terra viventium.

Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, Domine.

Quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

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[10] The Salisbury pontifical puts this clause "Pro anima" &c., and again presently the same when it is repeated, as a rubric. Possibly both are correct: the bishop, when performing this office, might be allowed to use either the few words in the text or some other and longer form, if he supposed it to be necessary.

Oratio. Deus origo pietatis, pater misericordiarum, solamen tristium, indultor criminum, de cujus munere venit omne quod bonum est, et procedit, respice propitius supplicum preces. Et quamvis propria nos reputet indignos conscientia, te dignum nostris flecti petitionibus, pulsamus tamen quantulumcunque conceditur aures tuæ pietatis. Nam si omittimus in utroque veremur esse rei, quoniam et te præcipis a peccatoribus exorari, nostroque, etsi non merito, hoc agendum te præstante tribuitur ministerio. Ergo te, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, qui unicum Filium tuum dominum nostrum Jesum Christum incarnari de virgine constituisti, quo vetustum solveret proprio cruore peccatum, et vitam redderet mundo, ipso opitulante animam fratris nostri *vel* sororis nostræ *N.* ab ergastulo cœnolentæ materiæ exemptam ab omnibus piaculis quæsumus absolvas. Nullas patiatur insidias occursantium dæmonum, propter quam misisti ad terras unigenitum Filium tuum. Libera et absolve eam ab æstuantis gehennæ truci incendio, collocans in paradisi amœnitate. Non sentiat, piissime Pater, quod calet in flammis, quod stridet in pœnis, et quod horret in tenebris: sed munificentiæ tuæ munere præventa mereatur evadere judicium ultionis, et beatæ requiei ac lucis æternæ felicitate perfrui. Per Christum.

Alia oratio, cum Oremus.

Tibi, Domine, commendamus animam famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ *N.* ut defunctus *vel* defuncta sæculo tibi vivat, et quæ per fragilitatem mundanæ conversationis peccata admisit, tu venia misericordissimæ pietatis absterge. Per Christum.

His dictis dicatur ps.

Miserere, *cum ant.* Requiem æternam.

Qua dicta dicat sacerdos in auditu omnium:

Pater noster: pro anima ejus *N.* et pro animabus quorum ossa in hoc cœmetereo vel in aliis requiescunt, et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum.

Deinde dicat sacerdos.

Et ne nos.

Sed libera.

A porta inferi.

Erue Domine.

Ne tradas Domine bestiis animas confitentes tibi.

Et animas pauperum tuorum ne obliviscaris in finem.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus, cujus miseratione animæ fidelium requiescunt, animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum hic et ubique in Christo quiescentium, da propitius suorum veniam peccatorum, ut a cunctis reatibus absoluti tecum sine fine lætentur. Per Christum.

¶ *Postea revertentes clerici de tumulo, dicant septem psalmos pœnitentiales, vel psalmum,*[11] De profundis, *cum antiphona,* Requiem æternam.

Sequatur, Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos: sed libera. A porta inferi. Erue Domine.

Anima ejus in bonis demoretur.

Et semen ejus hæreditet terram.

Credo videre bona Domini.

In terra viventium.

Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo Domine.

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[11] "*Vel saltem psalmum.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Sar.*

Quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Satisfaciat tibi Domine Deus noster pro anima famuli tui *N.* fratris nostri, sanctæ Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ, et sanctissimi apostoli tui Petri, omniumque sanctorum tuorum oratio, et præsentis familiæ tuæ humilis et devota supplicatio, ut peccatorum omnium veniam precamur obtineat, nec eam patiaris cruciari gehennalibus pœnis, quam Filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi pretioso sanguine redemisti. Qui tecum, &c.

ℭ *In fine omnium demissa voce dicatur sic:* Anima ejus, et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace. Amen.[12]

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[12] Although very infrequent there are still some examples in England of prayers for the dead upon tombstones many years after the reformation. The ancient belief and practice died out gradually and slowly.

At Knook in Wiltshire is the following, for one who died in 1592: "Of your cheriti praye for ye sovle of John Morgan, gentleman, and Elinor his wife," &c. *Ancient epitaphs*, p. 38. And at Whitchurch, in Dorset, is a brass (I believe hitherto unnoticed) to the memory of John Wadham, ending "whos soule God rest in pese." Dated 1584.

Ordo ad faciendam aquam benedictam.

Benedictio salis et aquae.[1]

OMNIBUS dominicis diebus per annum, et in festis simplicibus in dominicis contingentibus, post primam et capitulum, vel missam in capitulo, si habeatur, tres campanæ breviter pulsentur, singulatim, ad aquam benedictam, incipiendo a majore campana: deinde in fine processionis, cum dicitur antiphona in introitu chori, pulsatur ad tertiam dicto modo: nisi sermo diceretur ad populum, tunc in fine sermonis pulsatur ad tertiam, nisi in duplicibus festis, et in dominica in ramis palmarum; a sacerdote heb-

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[1] "De modo benedicendi aquam dominica in adventu et in aliis dominicis.

"Dominica prima in adventu, peractis his quæ ad capitulum pertinent, sacerdos hebdomadarius cum diacono, et subdiacono textum deferente, et puero deferente thuribulum et ceropherariis, et acolyto crucem ferente: omnibus albis indutis, et ad altare in medio presbiterii conversis, in cappa serica ad gradum chori faciat aquam benedictam: et puer qui ad aquam scribitur in tabula in superpelliceo ei subministret, tenendo sal dum benedicitur, et aquam benedictam gestando. Puer vero hebdomadarius lectionis ad matutinas sacerdoti in libro tenendo in superpelliceo ministret.

"De aspersione aquæ.

"Peracta benedictione, sacerdos ipse accedat ad principale altare, et ipsum circumquaque aspergat; in redeundo in primis aspergat ministros sic ordinatos, incipiendo ab acolyto. Deinde ad gradum chori rediens, ibidem singulos clericos ad se accedentes aspergat, incipiens a majoribus. Episcopus tamen si præsens fuerit, ad eum aspersio clericorum pertinet. Post aspersionem clericorum laicos in presbyterio hinc inde stantes aspergat. Peracta aspersione redeat sacerdos ad gradum chori, et ibi orationem cum versiculo dicat." *Consuetudinarium Sarum*, MS. registrum S. Osmundi, fol. xij.

A small Sarum missal in the

domadario, alba et cappa serica rubea induto, cum diacono et subdiacono textus deferentibus cum thuribulariis et duobus ceroferariis, et acolyto crucem deferente, omnibus albis cum amictibus indutis, in medio presbyterii ad altare conversis, ac etiam cum duobus pueris, quorum alter scilicet puer qui ad aquam scribitur in tabula, in sale tenendo et aquam benedictam gestando, alter scilicet puer hebdomadarius lector ad matutinas, et in libro tenendo eidem sacerdoti in superpelliciis ministrent, et ad gradum chori fiat benedictio salis et aquæ hoc modo.

Exorciso te, creatura salis, per Deum ✠ vivum, per Deum ✠ verum, per ✠ Deum sanctum, per Deum qui te per Heliseum prophetam in aquam mitti jussit ut sanaretur sterilitas aquæ, ut efficiaris sal *hic respiciat sacerdos sal* exorcisatum in salutem credentium. Et sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animæ et corporis, et effugiat atque discedat ab eo loco quo aspersum fueris omnis phantasia et nequitia vel versutia diabolicæ fraudis, omnisque spiritus immundus, adjuratus per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et sæculum per ignem.

Resp. Amen.

Et sic finiantur omnes exorcismi per totum annum.

Sequatur oratio sine Dominus vobiscum, *sed tantum cum*, Oremus.

Immensam clementiam tuam, omnipotens æterne Deus, humiliter imploramus, *hic respiciat sacerdos sal,* ut hanc creaturam salis, quam in usum humani

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British museum, a manuscript of about 1400, has an illumination before this office. The priest stands before a desk on which the missal lies, the bucket is on the ground before him, and an acolyte is standing by the side. Additional MS. 16,998.

generis tribuisti, bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare tua pietate digneris, ut sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis; et quicquid ex eo tactum vel respersum fuerit, careat omni immunditia, omnique impugnatione spiritalis nequitiæ. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Sub eodem tono finiantur omnes orationes sequentes, et etiam orationes post aspersionem aquæ benedictæ.

Sequatur exorcismus aquæ.

Exorciso te, creatura aquæ, in nomine Dei Pa✠tris omnipotentis, et in nomine Jesu Christe, Filii ejus, Domini nostri: et in virtute Spiritus ✠ sancti: ut fias aqua exorcisata ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimici: et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas cum angelis suis apostaticis: per virtutem ejusdem domini nostri, Jesu Christi: qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem.

Resp. Amen.

Sequatur oratio sine, Dominus vobiscum, *sed tantum cum,* Oremus.

Oratio. Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quæque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto propitius invocationibus nostris: et elemento huic, *hic respiciat sacerdos aquam,* multimodis purificationibus præparato virtutem tuæ bene✠dictionis infunde, ut creatura tua mysteriis tuis serviens ad abjiciendos dæmones[2] morbosque

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[2] In a colloquy between a saint and an evil spirit, in one of the legends which enliven the history written by Matthew Paris,

pellendos, divinæ gratiæ sumat effectum, ut quicquid in domibus vel in locis fidelium hæc unda resperserit, careat omni immunditia, liberetur a noxa: non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens: discedant omnes insidiæ latentis inimici, et si quid est quod aut incolumitati habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersione hujus aquæ effugiat, ut salubritas per invocationem tui nominis expetita, ab omnibus sit impugnationibus defensa. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, &c.

¶ *Hic mittat sacerdos sal in aquam, in modum crucis, privatim ita dicens:*

Commixtio salis et aquæ pariter fiat;
In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.
Resp. Amen.

¶ *Sequatur benedictio salis et aquæ pariter.*

Dominus vobiscum.
Resp. Et cum spiritu tuo.
Oremus.

Deus, invictæ virtutis auctor, et insuperabilis imperii rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui adversæ dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis sævitiam superas, qui hostiles nequitias potens expugnas, te, Domine, trementes et sup-

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is the following passage: "Cui sanctus, nonne cognoscis illum? et dæmon, hunc hominem vidi in Essexia in ecclesia de Tidstude, in festo dedicationis ejusdem. Ait sanctus: in quali habitu ecclesiam ingressus es? in habitu, inquit, muliebri; sed cum processissem usque ad baptisterium, volens intrare cancellum, obvius mihi fuit diaconus cum aspersorio aquæ benedictæ; qui me illius aquæ aspergine ita præcipitanter effugavit, ut clamorem emittens, saltum fecerim ab ecclesia usque ad pratum; quod fere per duo stadia ab eadem ecclesia est separatum." p. 183.

plices deprecamur, ac petimus, ut hanc *hic respiciat aquam sale mixtam*, creaturam salis et aquæ dignanter accipias, benignus illustres, pietatis tuæ rore san✠ctifices, ut ubicunque fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abjiciatur, terrorque venenosi serpentis procul pellatur, et præsentia sancti Spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubique adesse dignetur. Per dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum. Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ *Si fuerit duplex festum, extra chorum fiat benedictio salis et aquæ privatim ante aliquod altare, et hora vj. cantata aspergatur. In aliis vero dominicis simplicibus in choro benedicatur et ante tertiam aspergatur, ut supra dictum est, nisi in dominica in ramis palmarum; tunc enim extra chorum benedicatur, et post sextam aspergatur more duplicis festi: licet duplex festum non fuerit.*

Peracta benedictione salis et aquæ, accedat ipse sacerdos ad principale altare, et ipsum stando circumquaque aspergat. In redeundo ab altari in primis aspergat ministros ordinatim, incipiendo ab acolyto, qui crucem defert: deinde ad gradum chori rediens, ibidem singulos clericos ad se accedentes aspergat incipiens a majoribus: tamen si episcopus præsens fuerit, ad eum pertinet aspersio clericorum. Post aspersionem clericorum laicos in presbyterio hinc inde stantes aspergat.

Dum spargitur aqua benedicta cantetur hæc antiphona a toto choro, cantore incipiente.

Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo et mundabor, lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor.

Ps. Miserere mei Deus; secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

Repetatur antiphona. Asperges me.

Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum: dele iniquitatem meam.

Repetatur antiphona. Asperges me.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper: et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

℄ *Repetatur* Asperges me.

Hæc antiphona dicatur in aspersione aquæ benedictæ, omnibus dominicis per annum, præterquam a pascha ad festum Trinitatis. Dicetur etiam dominica in ramis palmarum, et in dominica passionis Domini, cum Gloria Patri, *et* Sicut erat. *A pascha vero usque ad festum Trinitatis, dicatur hæc antiphona in aspersione aquæ benedictæ, cantore incipiente.*

Antiphona. Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro.

Alleluya.

Et omnes ad quos pervenit aqua ista salvi facti sunt, et dicent: Alleluya. Alleluya.

Ps. Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.

Repetatur antiphona. Vidi aquam. *Postea dicitur versus:*

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Et peracta aspersione aquæ, sacerdos ad gradum chori dicat:

Vers. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

Resp. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

Deinde presbyter dicat: Oremus.

Exaudi nos, Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, et mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de cœlis, qui custodiat, foveat, protegat, visitet, et defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Resp. Amen.

¶ *Si episcopus in aliqua simplici dominica exequatur officium, tunc ipse indutus cappa serica cum mitra et baculo, ac omnibus supradictis ministris ad benedictionem salis et aquæ chorum solet intrare: qui dum fit benedictio salis et aquæ a sacerdote, ut prædicitur, ad hoc induto, sese in sedem recipit episcopalem ibique post aspersionem altaris principalis a prædicto sacerdote factam, tam canonicos quam cæteros clericos ad sedem ipsam accedentes, modo et ordine prænotato asperget et tam versum quam orationem post antiphonam* Asperges *dicet ibidem. Si vero episcopus executor officii non fuerit, tunc in habitu chori cum chirothecis tantum et baculo, clericos ut supra aspergat, sacerdote prædicto versum et orationem post antiphonam* Asperges *more consueto semper dicente.*

¶ Benedictio panis.

BENEDICTIO *panis in diebus dominicis.*

In prima sacerdos legat evangelium In principio erat Verbum *et postea dicat:* Sit nomen Domini benedictum. ℞. Ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum. Benedicamus Domino.

Resp. Deo gratias.

Deinde dicat: Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum, Oremus. *Oratio.*

Bene✠dic Domine creaturam istam panis, sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto, ut omnes ex eo gustantes tam corporis quam animæ accipiant sanitatem. In nomine Pa✠tris et Fi✠lii et Spi✠ritus sancti. Amen.

Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta super panem et distribuatur.

Benedictiones diversae.

Benedictiones diversae.

I. Benedictio indumentorum sacerdotalium.[1]

ADJUTORIUM nostrum. Dominus vobiscum.

Ista in omnibus benedictionibus primo dicantur.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui per Moysen famulum tuum pontificalia seu sacerdotalia, ac levitica vestimenta, ad explendum ministerium eorum in conspectu tuo, et ad decorem tui nominis fieri decrevisti: adesto propitius invocationibus nostris: et hæc indumenta desuper irrigata gratia tua, ingenti benedictione per nostræ humilitatis servitutem purificare ✠ benedicere ✠ et consecrare ✠ digneris: ut divinis cultibus et sacris mysteriis apta et bene✠dicta existant: hisque sacris vestibus pontifices, cerdotes, seu levitæ tui induti, ab omnibus impulsionibus seu tentationibus malignorum spirituum muniti ac defensi esse mereantur: omnesque eis utentes tuis mysteriis aptos et condignos servire, atque in his placide inhærere et devote perseverare tribue. Per dominum nostrum.

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[1] These benedictions follow the order of confirmation, which, for reasons already stated (see note 1, p. 38), I have placed after the order of baptism. They are headed, "Benedictiones ab episcopis, et suffraganeis faciendæ." The first is named in the Sarum pontifical "Benedictio ad vestimenta sacerdotalia sive levitica;" and except in a word or two is the same office as in the text.

Oratio. Deus invictæ virtutis auctor, et omnium rerum creator ac sanctificator, intende propitius: ut hæc indumenta sacerdotalis et leviticæ gloriæ ministeriis tuis fruenda, tuo ore proprio bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare et consecrare digneris: omnesque eis utentes tuis mysteriis aptos, et tibi in eis devote et amicabiliter servientes, gratos effici concedas. Per dominum. *Et aspergat ea episcopus aqua benedicta: et idem faciat in benedictione cujuslibet specialis indumenti.*

II. Benedictio specialis cujuslibet indumenti.

Oremus. *Oratio.*[2]

DEUS omnipotens, bonarum virtutum dator, et omnium benedictionum largus infusor, te supplices exoramus ut manibus nostris opem tuæ benedictionis infundas: ut hunc amictum, *vel* albam, *vel* cinctorium, *vel* manipulum, *vel* dalmaticam, *vel* patenam, *vel* pluviale, divino cultui præparatum, virtute sancti Spiritus bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare, atque conse✠crare digneris. Et omnibus eis utentibus gratiam sanctificationis sacri mysterii tui benignus concede, ut in conspectu tuo sancti et immaculati atque irreprehensibiles appareant, et auxilium misericordiæ tuæ acquirant. Per dominum.

III. Benedictio amictus.

Oremus.

BENE✠DIC Domine quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, amictum istum tam levitici quam sacerdotalis officii: et concede propitius, ut quicumque

[2] This office and the next three do not occur in the MS. pontifical which is before me.

eum capiti suo imposuerit, benedictionem tuam accipiat, sitque in fide solidus, et sanctitatis gravedine fundatus. Per dominum.

IV. Benedictio albæ.

DEUS invictæ virtutis auctor, et omnium rerum creator et sanctificator, intende propitius, ut albam leviticæ ac sacerdotalis gloriæ tuo ore proprio bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare atque conse✠crare digneris, omnesque ea utentes tuis mysteriis aptos, et tibi in ea devote et amicabiliter servientes, gratos effici concedas. Per dominum nostrum.

V. Benedictio cinguli.

OMNIPOTENS sempiterne Deus, qui Aaron et filiis suis sacerdotali ministerio cingulo cum balteo in renibus stringi jussisti, adesto supplicationibus nostris : ut omnes tuæ sanctæ operationis ministri hac zona justitiæ circumsepti, renes lumbosque sancta pudicitia præcingere satagant atque prævaleant : quatenus nec vento elationis, nec frigore iniquitatis tabescant, sed magis ac magis te opitulante confirmari et corroborari ad tibi placita queant. Per dominum.

VI. Benedictio manipuli.[3]

Oremus. *Oratio.*

EXAUDI nos Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, ut hunc manipulum sacri mysterii usui præparatum bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, atque conse✠crare digneris. Per dominum.

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[3] Another benediction and not this is given in the pontifical :— "*Benedictio manipuli per se.* Devotionis infusor Deus, bene✠di-

VII. Benedictio stolæ.[4]

Oremus. *Oratio.*

DEUS qui stolis prædicatoribus collum et pectus muniri jussisti, exaudi nos propitius: ut quicumque tuorum sacerdotum huic stolæ colla subjecerint, quicquid corde credunt boni proferant,[5] et quod verbis edocuerint factis[6] adimplere festinent. Per dominum nostrum.

VIII. Benedictio stolæ et manipuli simul.[7]

DOMINE Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui pius et misericors ore tuo sancto et benedicto dixisti, Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris: jugum enim meum suave est; et onus meum leve: stolam istam et manipulum istum quem famuli tui sacerdotes et levitæ ad ostendendum se servituti tuæ mancipatos gestaturi sunt, bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, atque conse✠crare digneris, quatenus eis utentes jugum tuum suave et onus tuum leve sentiant, et animabus suis requiem inveniant sempiternam. Per te salvator mundi, rex gloriæ, qui vivis.

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cere dignare manipulum istum, et utentibus eo lachrymarum incrementa concede, ut tui muneris collatione præventi, et fiducialius a te quæ postulanda sunt postulent, et facilius impetrent postulata. Per dominum.

[4] This is in the pontifical.

[5] "Quicquid boni ore protulerint corde credant." *Pontif. Sar.*

[6] "Opere." *Pontif. Sar.*

[7] This office and the following, with one or two unimportant verbal differences, are in the pontifical; except that according to that manuscript the benediction of the chasuble ends, "super omnia habeant, quo perficere quæ juste desiderant te præstante valeant. Per dominum."

IX. Benedictio casulæ.

Oratio.

DEUS fons pietatis et justitiæ, qui tui operis ministros ad extremum vestimentorum suorum casula, cujus munimento interius omnia tegerentur, vestiri sanxisti: concede precibus nostris virtutem et bene✠dictionem gratiæ tuæ, ut omnes hac casula induti enumeratis interius omnium virtutum ornamentis, vinculum perfectæ charitatis super omnia habeant et conservent; quo perficere valeant sacrificium tibi gratum pro vivis et mortuis, et quæ adipisci desiderant, devota mente implere valeant. Præstante domino nostro: qui tecum vivit.

X. Benedictio mapparum, seu linteaminum altaris.

Oratio.

EXAUDI preces nostras Domine: et hæc linteamina sacri altaris usui præparata bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare digneris. Per Dominum nostrum.[8]

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[8] The Sarum pontifical gives another prayer in the place of this:—

"Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui ab initio utilia et necessaria hominibus creasti, quique per famulum tuum Moysen velamina, et ornamenta, et cætera necessaria ad cultum et decorem tabernaculi et altaris tui fieri decrevisti, exaudi propitius preces nostras: et hæc ornamenta vel linteamina in usum ecclesiæ vel altaris tui, ad honorem et gloriam tuam præparata, puri✠ficare, sancti✠ficare, et conse✠crare per nostræ humilitatis servitutem digneris, ut divinis cultibus sacrisque ministeriis apta et benedicta existant, hiisque confectioni corporis et sanguinis domini Jesu Christi Filii tui dignis famulatibus parentur. Qui tecum."

Then follows the second prayer of the text.

Oratio.

Domine Deus omnipotens qui Moysen famulum tuum per quadraginta dies ornamenta et linteamina facere docuisti: quæ etiam Maria texuit in usum tabernaculi fœderis, bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, et conse✠crare digneris, hæc linteamina ad tegendum et involvendum altare gloriosissimi Filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui tecum vivit.

XI. Benedictio patenæ.[9]

OREMUS fratres dilectissimi, ut divinæ gratiæ benedictio conse✠cret et sancti✠ficet hanc patenam ad confringendum in ea corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi: qui crucis passionem sustinuit pro salute omnium nostrum. Qui vivit et regnat.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui legalium institutor es hostiarum: quique inter eas conspersam similaginem deferri in patenis aureis et argenteis ad altare tuum jussisti: bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, atque con✠secrare digneris hanc patenam in administrationem eucharistiæ Jesu Christi Filii tui, qui

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[9] The Sarum pontifical begins this office thus, after the usual verses and responses:—

"Oremus. Consecramus et sancti✠ficamus hanc patenam ad confringendum in ea corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi patientis crucem pro salute omnium nostrum. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu, &c.

"*Hic faciat episcopus signum crucis de chrismate super patenam dicens.*

"Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris Domine hanc patenam, per istam unctionem et nostram bene✠dictionem in Christo Jesu domino nostro. Qui tecum.

"Oremus. Omnipotens, sempiterne," &c.

pro nostrum omnium salute seipsum tibi Deo Patri in crucis patibulo elegit immolari. Qui tecum.

Hic faciat episcopus crucem cum pollice de oleo sancto super patenam: et mox liniat totam superficiem cum ipso pollice, dicens:

Con✠secrare, et sancti✠ficare dignare Domine patenam istam, per istam unctionem et nostram sanctam benedictionem in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Qui tecum.

XII. Præfatio ad calicem.

OREMUS, dilectissimi fratres, ut Deus et Dominus noster calicem istum in usum sui ministerii consecrandum cœlestis gratiæ inspiratione sancti✠ficet: et eum ad habendam plenitudinem divini amoris accommodet. Per dominum.

Benedictio calicis.[10]

DIGNARE domine Deus noster calicem istum bene✠dicere, in usum ministerii tui pia devotione formatum: et sanctificatione perfundere qua

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[10] According to the pontifical the anointing precedes the collect or prayer, which instead of the one in the text is as follows:—

"Deus qui accepto et distributo pane, vetus determinans pascha et novum inchoans, accepto calice sanguinem tuum benedixisti et discipulis tuis ad bibendum porrexisti: quique in cruce pro mundi salute positus, aquam ex latere proprio una cum sanguine profluere superna sanctificatione voluisti, respice propitius super hunc calicem quem in tuo nomine consecramus, et tuam in eo effunde bene✠dictionem, et præsta ut quicumque ex hoc sanguinem tuum mundato corpore prægustaverint, peccatorum omnium a te misericordissimo veniam et gaudia percipere mereantur æterna. Per te salvator, qui vivis et regnas," &c.

Melchisedech famuli tui sacratum vas vel calicem perfudisti: et quod arte vel metallo effici non potest altaribus tuis dignum, fiat tua benedictione sanctificatum. Per dominum.

Hic faciat crucem de chrismate a labio ejus in labium cum pollice: et mox liniat et perungat calicem totum infra dicens:

Con ✠ secrare, et sancti ✠ ficare dignare calicem istum, per istam sanctam unctionem et nostram benedictionem: in Christo Jesu domino nostro. Qui tecum.

Actiones nostras[11] quæsumus Domine aspirando præveni et adjuvando prosequere: ut cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat, et per te cœpta finiatur. Per dominum.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, manibus nostris quæsumus opem tuæ benedictionis infunde: et per nostram benedictionem hoc vasculum cum patena sancti ✠ ficetur: et corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi novum supulchrum sancti Spiritus gratia perficiatur. Per eundem dominum nostrum Jesum, &c.

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[11] I have not ventured to place this and the succeeding prayer as a separate benediction of both chalice and paten, although such would probably be regarded as the right arrangement. But all the manuals which I have examined give the order as in the text, immediately succeeding the collect of the office of consecrating the chalice alone. The pontifical has "Oratio super calicem et patenam simul," but not agreeing with the above.

XIII. Vasa sacra et alia ornamenta ecclesiæ, in generali benedicantur hoc modo.[12]

Adjutorium nostrum. Oremus.

EXAUDI Domine preces nostras clementissime Pater, et hæc purificanda vasa et ornamenta, sacri altaris atque ecclesiæ tuæ sacræ mysterii usui præparata, bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare digneris, per dominum.

Oratio.

Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui ab initio utilia et necessaria hominibus creasti: templaque manu hominum facta nomini tuo sancto dicari, tuæque habitationis loca vocari voluisti: quique per famulum tuum Moysen vestimenta pontificalia et sacerdotalia et levitica, et alia quæque diversi generis ornamenta ad cultum et decorem tabernaculi et altaris tui fieri decrevisti: exaudi propitius preces nostras, et omnia hæc diversarum specierum ornamenta in usum basilicæ tuæ vel altaris ad honorem et gloriam tuam præparata, puri✠ficare, bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, atque conse✠crare digneris: ut divinis cultibus sacrisque mysteriis apta et benedicta existant, atque confectionibus corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi dignis parentur famulatibus. Qui tecum.

Et aspergatur aqua benedicta.

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[12] This office is not given in the pontifical; but compare the second collect with the prayer above, p. 174, note 8, "Benedictio linteaminum."

XIV. Benedictio librorum.[13]

Adjutorium nostrum, &c.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

DESCENDAT Domine virtus Spiritus sancti super hunc librum, qui eum mundando purificet et benedicat atque santificet, et omnium in eo legentium clementer corda illuminet, et verum intellectum tribuat, sed et intelligendo tua præcepta conservare et implere secundum voluntatem tuam bonis operibus concedat. Per dominum. ejusdem.

Et aspergatur aqua benedicta.

XV. Benedictio thuribuli.

Adjutorium, &c. Oremus.

DOMINE Deus qui dum filios Israel in deserto murmurantes ob rebellem suam audaciam dudum vastaret incendium, Aaron sacerdotem tuum, ac repleto igne altaris thuribulo tibi incensum ponentem exaudire, eosque de incendio liberare dignatus es: bene✠dic quæsumus Domine thuribulum hoc: et præsta, ut quoties in eo thus adolebitur, votum populi tui boni odoris efficias. Per dominum.

XVI. Benedictio incensi.

Oremus.

DOMINE Deus omnipotens, cui astat exercitus angelorum cum tremore, quorum servitium spirituale et igneum esse cognoscitur: dignare respicere, bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare hanc creaturam incensi: ut omnes languores cunctæque insidiæ inimici odorem ejus sentientes effugiant, et separentur

[13] This and the succeeding are not included in the copy of the pontifical.

a plasmate tuo quod pretioso sanguine redimisti, ut nunquam lædantur a morsu antiqui serpentis. Per Dominum nostrum.

XVII. Benedictio corporalis.

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini. Qui fecit cœlum et terram.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

CLEMENTISSIME Deus, cujus inerrabilis est virtus, cujus mysteria arcana miraculis celebrantur: tribue quæsumus, ut hoc linteamen tuæ propitiationis bene✠dictione sanctificetur, et ad consecrandum super illud corpus Dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi Filii tui dignum efficiatur. Per eundem.

Oremus.

Deus qui pro humani generis salvatione verbum caro factus es, et habitare totus in nobis non dedignatus es: quique traditori tuo perfido osculum pium dedisti, dum pro vita omnium pius mactari voluisti, atque sindone lineo texto te involvi permisisti; respice propitius ad vota nostra, qui tua fideliter charismata amplecti cupimus: quæsumus, Domine, sancti✠ficare, bene✠dicere, et conse✠crare digneris hoc corporale in usum altaris tui: ad consecrandum super illud sive ad tegendum involvendumque sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem tuum, domine Jesu Christe, dignisque pareat famulatibus, ut quicquid sacro ritu super hoc immolabitur, sicut Melchisedech oblatum placeat tibi holocaustum: et obtineat per hoc præmium quicunque obtulerit votum. Te quoque humiliter rogamus ac petimus, ut hoc corporale tuæ sanctificationis ubertate per sancti Spiritus gratiam purifices et sanctifices, qui te pro nobis omni-

bus offerre sacrificium voluisti; et præsta ut super hoc sint tibi libamina accepta sive grata, sint pinguia, et Spiritus sancti rore perfusa, salvator mundi, qui vivis.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus qui digne tibi servientium nos imitari desideras famulatum, respice propitius ad humilitatis nostræ servitutem, et hoc corporale nomini tuo dedicatum, et servitutis tuæ usibus præparatum, cœlestis virtutis benedictione sancti✠fica, puri✠fica, et conse✠cra; quatenus super illud Spiritus sanctus tuus descendat, qui et oblationes populi tui benedicat, et corda sive corpora sumentium benignus reficiat. Per dominum nostrum.

XVIII. Benedictio precariorum.

DEUS omnium benedictionum largus infusor, ac omnis bonæ actionis inspirator, qui omnia tabernaculi fœderis ornamenta ad devotionem populi tuo ore proprio fieri præcepisti: te humili prece deposcimus ut hæc oracula sive precaria sanctitatis effigiem prætendentia, et ad devote orandum beatissimam virginem Mariam Dei genitricem adaptata, et ad psallendum ejusdem sanctissimæ virginis psalterium confecta et præparata, illa benedictione perfundas et benedicas, qua olim per manus sacerdotum utensilia tabernaculi perfudisti. Et concede ut quicunque in his oraculis sive precariis ipsam gloriosissimam virginem suppliciter honorare studuerint, aut in his quocunque loco coram sua imagine preces effundere decreverint, aut ejus patrocinium postulaverint, illius precibus et obtentu, gratiam et gloriam consummato vitæ præsentis termino obtineant, et

tuæ propitiationis indulgentiam consequantur. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, &c.

Solus et ineffabilis et incomprehensibilis creator, omnipotens Deus, cujus verbo et potestate cuncta sunt creata: cujus dono percepimus quæ ad vitæ remedia possidemus: te supplices obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut de sede majestatis tuæ hæc oracula sive precaria fidelium famulorum tuorum sanctitati convenientia, tua benedictione et cœlesti sanctificatione perfundere digneris, quatenus beneplacitum munus in his orantium accipias. Sintque hæc oracula sive precaria in conspectu tuæ clementiæ libenter accepta, sicut Abel alumni tui, vel sicut Melchisedech munera tibi placuerunt oblata: ut qui in his beatissimam Dei genitricem Mariam suis sanctis nititur decorare obsequiis, Filius ejus dominus noster Jesus Christus magna pro parvis recompenset, devotionem ejus accipiat, peccata dimittat, fide eum repleat, indulgentia foveat, misericordia protegat, adversa destruat, prospera concedat. Habeat in hoc sæculo bonæ actionis documentum, caritatis studium, sancti amoris affectum, et in futuro cum sanctis angelis gaudium adipiscatur perpetuum. Per eundem.

XIX. Benedictio ad omnia quæcunque volueris.

Adjutorium nostrum.

BENEDIC ✠ Domine creaturam istam *N.* ut sit remedium salutare generi humano: et præsta per invocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, ut quicunque ex ea sumpserit, corporis sanitatem et animæ tutelam percipiat. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, &c.

Benedictio campanae.

Incipit modus ad signandum sive campanam benedicendum.[1]

IN primis presbyter indutus superpellicio et stola, et cruce præcedente, cum clero et populo congregato, dum metallum decurrit pro campana facienda incipit hymnum: Veni Creator: *cum versu et collecta de sancto Spiritu. Quando vero completa est, incipit:* Te Deum laudamus. *Et omnes clerici una voce debent cantare. Et in fine:* Da pacem.

Versus. A Domino factum est istud.

Resp. Et est mirabile.

Dominus vobiscum. *Oratio.*

Actiones nostras quæsumus Domine aspirando præveni, et adjuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra oratio et operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te cœpta finiatur. Per Christum.

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[1] The Sarum pontifical, at least the copy which has been so often referred to, does not contain this office. It is included in the York pontifical of archbishop Bainbridge, and the first rubric explains "signum:" "Ad signum, id est, campanam, ecclesiæ benedicendam, primum litaniæ agantur," &c. The York use rather agrees with the Bangor, where either differs from the Salisbury. In the Bangor pontifical we find:—"*Ad signum ecclesiæ benedicendum: primo litaniæ agantur, et deinde dicat episcopus, Vers.* Deus in adjutorium. *Deinde faciat episcopus exorcismum aquæ.*" After the exorcising of the water the bell is sprinkled with it, and the prayer in the text follows, with a slight variation at the beginning more especially referring to the bell: "Benedic, Domine, hoc tintinnabulum, et assistat," &c.

Quando volunt pendere, possunt: sed primitus benedicitur, et consecratur in modum qui sequitur.

Benedictio aquæ.

V. Adjutorium nostrum. *V.* Sit nomen.

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Bene✠dic Domine hanc aquam benedictione cœlesti, et assistat super eam virtus Spiritus sancti, ut cum hoc vasculum ad invitandos filios ecclesiæ præparatum in ea fuerit tinctum, ubicunque sonuerit ejus tintinnabulum, longe recedat virtus inimicorum, umbra phantasmatum, incursio turbinum, percussio fulminum, læsio tonitruum, calamitas tempestatum, omnisque spiritus procellarum. Et cum clangorem illius audierint filii Christianorum, crescat in eis devotionis augmentum, ut festinantes ad piæ matris gremium, cantent tibi in ecclesia sanctorum, deferentes in sono tubæ præconium, modulationem per psalterium, exultationem per organum, suavitatem per tympanum, jocunditatem per cymbalum, gentes invitare valeant in templo sancto tuo suis obsequiis et precibus exercitum angelorum. Per Dominum. ejusdem.

Postea debet cantare hos sex[2] *psalmos.*

Lauda anima mea Dominum.

Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus est.

Lauda Hierusalem Dominum.

Laudate Dominum de cœlis.

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[2] "*Post hæc cantabis vij. ps. id est*, Lauda anima mea Dominum, *usque in finem psalterii, cum hac ant.* In civitate Domini clare sonant jugiter organa sanctorum: ibi cynamomum et balsamum odor suavissimus qui ad Deum pertinent, ibi angeli et archangeli hymnum novum decantant ante sedem Dei. Alleluya, Alleluya." *Pontif. Bangor.*

Cantate Domino canticum novum; laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum.

Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus.

Et dum cantantur, debet sacerdos lavare clocam de supradicta aqua benedicta cum oleo benedicto, et sale benedicto: quod benedicitur sicut in die dominico. Deinde dicit orationem sequentem.

Oremus. *Oratio.*[3]

Deus qui per beatum Moysen legiferum tubas argenteas fieri præcepisti, quas dum Levitæ sacrificii clangerent, sonitu dulcedinis populus monitus ad adorandum te fieret præparatus, quarum clangore hortatus ad bellum, tela prosterneret adversantium: præsta ut hoc vasculum tuæ ecclesiæ præparatum sanctificetur a Spiritu sancto: ut per illius tactum fideles invitentur ad præmium. Et cum melodia illius auribus insonuerit populorum, crescat in eis devotio fidei: procul pellantur omnes insidiæ inimici: fragor grandinum, procella turbinum, impetus tempestatum temperentur. Infesta tonitrua, ventorum flagra fiant salubriter ac moderate suspensa. Prosternas aereas potestates dextera tuæ virtutis,[4] ut hoc audientes tintinnabulum tremiscant et fugiant ante sanctæ crucis vexillum. Per Dominum. ejusdem.

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[3] "*Et cum cantaveris, interim exterges illud cum linteo.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Bangor.* Then follows the prayer as in the text "Deus qui per beatum Moysen," &c., with one or two verbal and unimportant variations, except towards the end as mentioned in the next note.

[4] "Et omnes immundi spiritus hoc audientes tintinnabulum, tremiscant et fugiant quasi ante crucis sanctæ vexillum. Præsta quæsumus nobis hanc gratiam, Domine Deus, cui flectitur omne genu cœlestium terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confitetur." *Pontif. Bangor.*

Tunc debet eam extergere linteo, dicendo hunc psalmum.[5]

Vox Domini super aquas. Gloria Patri et Filio. Sicut erat, &c.

Post hæc tangere eam debet de chrismate foris septies, et intus quater, dicendo:

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ante arcam fœderis, per clangorem tubarum muros lapideos quibus adversantium cingebatur exercitus cadere fecisti: tu hoc tintinnabulum cœlesti benedictione perfunde, ut ante sonitum ejus longius effugentur ignita jacula inimici, percussio fulminum, impetus lapidum, læsio tempestatum: ut ad interrogationem propheticam, Quid est tibi mare quod fugisti? suis motibus cum Jordanico retro acto fluendo respondeat, A facie Domini commota est terra; a facie Dei Jacob. Qui convertit solidam petram in stagna aquæ: et rupem in fontes aquarum. Non ergo nobis Domine, non nobis: sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Super misericordia tua et veritate tua. Ut cum præsens vasculum (sicut reliqua altaris vasa) sacro chrismate tangitur, et ungitur oleo sancto, quicunque ad sonitum ejus convenerint, ab omnibus inimicorum tentationibus liberi, semper fidei catholicæ documenta sectentur.[6] Per dominum nostrum. in unitate ejusdem.

Tunc ponit incensario ignem et thymiama et thus et

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[5] "*Deinde linies illud chrismate septies deforis, et deintus quaternis vicibus, subsequente antiph.* Vox Domini super," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

Then the psalm, as in the text.

[6] ". . . documenta sectentur: salvator mundi, cujus generalis nutu majestatis disponuntur omnia quæ cœli ambitu continentur. Qui cum Patre." *Pontif. Bangor.*

myrrham, erigendo clocam supra incensarium, ut totum illum fumum colligat, dicendo hanc antiphonam:

Deus in sancto via tua: quis deus magnus sicut Deus noster?

Psalmus. Viderunt te aquæ.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper: et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Postea dicit. Domine exaudi.

Dominus vobiscum. *Oratio.*

Omnipotens dominator Christe, quo secundum assumptionem carnis dormiente in navi dum oborta tempestas maria conturbasset, et protenus excitato et imperante dissiluit: tu necessitatibus populi tui benignus succurre. Tu hoc tintinnabulum sancti Spiritus rore perfunde, ut ante sonitum illius[7] semper fugiat inimicus: invitetur ad fidem populus Christianus: hostilis terreatur exercitus: confortetur in Domino per eum populus evocatus: atque sicut Davidica cithara delectatus desuper descendat Spiritus sanctus. Atque ut Samuele agnum mactante in holocaustum tuum, rex æterni imperii fragore aurarum turbam repulit adversantem: ita dum hujus vasculi sonitus transit per nubila, ecclesiæ conventum manus servet angelica fruges credentium et mentes et corpora salvet protectio sempiterna. Qui vivis. ejusdem.

Deinde aspergatur aqua benedicta,[8] *et totus populus*

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[7] "Ut intercedente beato .*N.* ante sonitum," &c. *Pontif. Bangor.*

[8] The rubric of the Bangor pontifical is much defaced in this place; I have little doubt however that it directs as follows:—

"*Tunc elevata manu benedicat*

præsens. Et imponatur sibi nomen per sacerdotem, apponendo manus supra, et simul imponunt patrini et matrinæ. Et post presbyterum nominant suum nomen, coopèriendo clocam linteis.

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episcopus signum ecclesiæ, ita humiliter dicendo :

"Benedictio Dei Patris ingeniti, atque Filii unigeniti, necnon sancti Spiritus ab utroque procedentis, semper super hoc tintinnabulum maneat, ad evocandum fideles ad divinum cultum, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

De benedictione primarii Lapidis.

Benedictio lapidis pro fundamento alicujus ecclesiae de novo construendae ordinati.[1]

PRIMO[2] *episcopus, pontificalibus indutus, stando juxta lapidem, dicat,*

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Tunc sequatur memoria sive commemoratio de sancto Spiritu, videlicet,

Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum, &c.

Deinde dicatur memoria de sancto vel de sanctis in quorum vel cujus honore fundata est ecclesia.

Quibus dictis, dicat episcopus has orationes sequentes cum

Dominus vobiscum *et* Oremus.

Oratio. Benedic, Domine, creaturam istam lapidis, ut sit remedium salutare generi humano, et præsta per invocationem nominis tui, ut quicunque ad hanc ecclesiam ædificandam et proficiendam pura mente auxilium dederit, corporis sanitatem et animæ medelam percipiat. Per dominum.

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[1] The Bangor pontifical has but a single prayer for this office :—

"*Benedictio lapidis pro fundamento ecclesiæ.* Benedic, Domine, creaturam istam lapidis . . medelam percipiat. Per." See below.

[2] "*Pridie igitur lignea crux in loco ubi debet esse altare, figatur. Sequenti vero die, lapis in ecclesiæ fundatione ponendus, qui debet esse quadratus et angularis, benedici debet hoc modo.*" Rubr. *Pontif. Rom.*

Tunc episcopus perungat ipsum lapidem cum pollice suo in medio quadraturæ per modum crucis cum crismate, sic dicendo.

Consecrare et sancti✠ficare, Domine Deus, lapidem istum digneris per istam sanctam crismatis unctionem et nostram benedictionem, in honore sancti N. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Pax tibi.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Ex tunc dicat episcopus hanc orationem.

Te Deum Patrem omnipotentem suppliciter exoramus, ut benedicere, sancti✠ficare et conse✠crare digneris hunc lapidem in honore sancti N. ac sancti Salvatoris, qui prophetice angularem se voluit vocari lapidem, Jesus Christus dominus noster. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Tunc ponatur lapis in loco suo, sed caveant laici ne tangant locum unctum. Et interim episcopus accipiat thuribulum, et imposito thure, thurificet lapidem in circuitu.

Ex tunc dicatur hæc oratio.

Oremus.

Adsit, omnipotens Deus, misericordiæ tuæ ineffabilis pietas, et super hunc lapidem in fundamentum ecclesiæ tuæ construendæ præparatum, opem tuæ benedictionis infunde, ut sit tibi lapis iste sicut ille lapis quem Jacob supponens capiti suo ascendentes et descendentes angelos per scalæ mysterium somno revelante cognovit. Sit tibi lapis iste sicut ille lapis quem Moyses, susceptis mandatis tuis, in præfiguratione apostolica duodecim lapidum constructione firmavit; et descendat Spiritus tuus

sanctus super hunc lapidem angularem, ædificationi ecclesiæ tuæ electum, per eum qui quondam descripsit lapideis legem in tabulis, et angularem lapidem ac saxum sine manibus excisum se voluit nominari; prophetarum principe de eo sic vati[ci]nante, "Lapidem quem reprobaverunt ædificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli;" "A Domino," inquit, "factum est istud," ut et nos simus "ædificati et fundati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Jesu, in quo omnis ædificatio constructa crescit in templum sanctum in Domino," qui trinus in unitate et unus in trinitate vivit et gloriatur Deus per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

Tunc aspergatur lapis aqua benedicta in circuitu.

Quo facto, dicat memoriam de sancta Maria, videlicet, Rorate cœli de super, &c. *Et memoriam de Trinitate, videlicet,* Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas.

Et tunc, dicto evangelio, In principio erat Verbum, *dicat episcopus elevata manu, sic:*

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus sancti, super hunc lapidem et omnes circumstantes descendat et maneat semper. Amen.

De Ecclesiae Dedicatione, seu Consecratione.

De Ecclesiae Dedicatione, seu Consecratione.[1]

INCIPIT ordo qualiter ecclesia sit dedicanda: ad cujus dedicationem faciendam plura sunt necessaria:[2] *viz. duodecim cruces pictæ deforis, et duodecim deintus: viginti quatuor cereoli*[3] *et to-*

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[1] The pontifical of archbishop Egbert has a short rubric preceding the order for consecrating a church: "Inde vero pridie quam consecretur ecclesia, prævidendæ sunt reliquiæ ab episcopo, et ponendæ in tali loco, ut tota nocte cum hymnis et laudibus atque luminaribus sint usque quo exinde levandæ, et ad locum ubi condendæ sunt deducantur."

The same pontifical also orders that due notice of the consecration should be publicly given beforehand, and people called on to attend.

The practice of enclosing relics in some part of the church during the consecration is of the highest antiquity. Passing by the early ritualists, it will be enough to refer to St. Gregory, *De gloria martyrum*, cap. xxxiv, and to the twenty-second epistle of St. Ambrose.

[2] In the Roman pontifical, as at present ordered, there is a much longer list of things necessary to be prepared before the consecration of a church. And to this I must refer the reader. Two very ancient English pontificals edited, in part, by Martene give but a brief direction; in one, of the ninth century, we find: "Primitus enim decet ut episcopus et cæteri ministri ecclesiæ induant se vestimentis sacris cum quibus divinum ministerium adimplere debent, et veniant ante ostium ecclesiæ quæ dedicanda est, cantando antiphonam: 'Zachæe festinans,'" &c. *De ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 250. In the other, of Egbert archbishop of York, the rubric is the same, with the addition "illuminentur duodecim candelæ, et ponantur deforis per circuitum ecclesiæ" (p. 247).

[3] The old pontificals differ much as to the number of candles to be used. Some name twenty-four, some twelve. When

tidem clavi ferrei in superiore parte circuli cujuslibet crucis figendi, in quibus dicti cereoli infigantur: vasa duo infra ecclesiam plena aquæ: viz. unum vas coram summo altare, aliud vas in medio ecclesiæ, et sex vel quatuor vasa aquæ plena extra ecclesiam, si necesse fuerit, convenientia ad sacrandam et ad deferendam aquam: ysopus[4] *quantum duo pugilli possunt capere,*

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twelve only are appointed these were to be placed usually within the church. The pontifical just named of archbishop Egbert directs them however to be fixed and lighted upon the outside. Durand says, "Omnibus de ecclesiis ejectis, solo diacono ibi remanente recluso, episcopus cum clero ante fores ecclesiæ aquam non sine sale benedicit: interim intrinsecus ardent duodecim luminaria ante duodecim cruces in ecclesiæ parietibus depictas." Lib. i. vj. 6.

A more important point is the object for which these were to be lighted, and its mystical signification. Which we learn from Rhabanus Maurus: "Quod vero duodecim lucernæ intus juxta parietes templi ponuntur, duodenarium numerum exprimit apostolorum, et patriarcharum, quem etiam Joannes apostolus in apocalypsi commemorat in ædificio cœlestis Hierusalem esse insignem." *De instit. Cleric.* And so, another writer: "Interim autem, in circuitu dedicandæ ecclesiæ duodecim sunt accensa luminaria, quibus significatur, quod commendanda sit lucens, et ardens apostolorum doctrina." Ivo Carnotensis, *serm. de sacramentis.* Compare also the treatise of Remigius Antissiodor., *de dedicatione ecc.*: "Quid significent duodecim candelæ," cap. 1. in Martene, *de antiq. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 276. And see Catalani, *Pontif. Rom. comment.* tom. 2. p. 49.

The Greek church lights a number of candles at a dedication; see Habert, *Pontif. ecc. Gr.* p. 672: "Lucernarum ecclesiæ multitudo." And in the same way that in the Latin church all except one deacon were ejected from the building, so was it also in the Greek. Of which Simeon bishop of Thessalonica, cited by Catalani, gives us the reason: "Sanctus debet esse qui intus reperitur, sicut et sacra est quæ sanctificatur domus."

[4] "Aspersorium factum de herba hyssopi." *Pontif. Rom.* The Bangor pontifical has a fine illumination at the beginning of the volume, representing the bishop, with the "aspersorium" or "ysopum" in his hand, sprinkling the outside of the church and the church-door. See above, p. cxxxiv.

unde fiant duo fasciculi quorum unus ligetur in scopa et altera aspergatur aqua benedicta super dedicandum altare: vas cum aqua, vinum, sal, cinis, majora grana incensi, oleum sanctum, chrisma, duo majores cerei ad candelabra, panni novi altaris, zabulum,[5] *quod spargatur a sinistro angulo ecclesiæ ab oriente usque in dextrum angulum occidentalem, et a dextro angulo orientali usque ad sinistrum angulum occidentalem, in modum crucis sancti Andreæ: quod quidem zabulum sit in latitudine unius pedis et dimidii. In spissitudine trium digitorum vel quatuor.*

Deinde summo mane, omnibus ejectis, solus diaconus infra ecclesiam includatur. Et episcopus cum diacono, cæteri autem ministri ecclesiæ extra locum consecrandum, sub papilione induat se vestimentis sacris cum quibus divinum mysterium adimplere debet: adsit etiam et tentorium ante ostium ecclesiæ, in quo possit episcopus cum suis ministris vestimentis se induere.

Quibus omnibus paratis, pontifex ecclesiam dedicaturus intret tentorium et induat se amictu, alba, stola, pluviali, et fanone, et capa de bysso, i. e. bokeram, et mitra simplici,[6] *et baculo,*[7] *sine manipulo et sine sandaliis.*

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[5] "Zabulum: sabulum: arena." Ducange; who cites two English authorities for its use.

[6] "Mitræ usus antiquissimus est, et ejus triplex est species: una, quæ pretiosa dicitur, quia gemmis, et lapidibus pretiosis, vel laminis aureis, vel argenteis contexta esse solet; altera auriphrygiata sine gemmis, et sine laminis aureis, vel argenteis; sed vel aliquibus parvis margaritis composita, vel ex tela aurea simplici sine laminis, et margaritis: tertia, quæ simplex vocatur, sine auro, ex simplici serico Damasceno, vel alio, aut etiam linea, ex tela alba confecta, rubeis laciniis, seu frangiis, et vittis pendentibus." *Cærimonialis episc.* lib. 1. cap. xvij, De mitra.

[7] "Cum episcopus utitur mitra, utitur etiam baculo pastorali." *Cærem. episc.* lib. 1. cap. xvij.

Et ministri ejus se induant, viz. unus diaconus qui se induat amictu, alba, stola, et fanone: unus subdiaconus qui consimile habebit vestimentum, præter stolam.: unus thurifer: duo ceroferarii: unus crucifer: qui omnes albis vel superpelliciis sint induti.

Et dum sic in tentorio pontifex se induit, dicat psalmos sequentes: viz. ps.

Judica me Deus.

Quam dilecta.

Inclina Domine, *cum* Gloria Patri.

Respons. in servitio quando episcopus præparat se ad missam celebrare.

Ps. Memento Domine David et omnis mansuetudinis ejus.

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Pater noster. Et ne nos.

Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam.

Et salutare tuum.

Esto nobis Domine turris fortitudinis.

A facie.

Non nobis Domine non nobis.

Sed nomini.

Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas.

Deus meus.

Domine exaudi.

Et clamor.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus qui paterna majestate, ignea claustra diru-

pisti infernorum, et sanguine tuo populum tibi acquisisti sempiternum, indue nos armis spiritualibus virtutum et invicta sanctæ crucis potentia, et contra diabolum pugnaturi te in auxilium habeamus, quatenus tibi hæreditatem de iniqui diaboli spolio acquiramus, et qui in domum Zachæi quondam miseratus descendisti, in domum quoque hanc quam sanctificaturi sumus venire dignare, et populos qui ad ejus dedicationem convenerunt spirituali gaudio remunera, Salvator mundi, Domine Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto, vivis et regnas Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

R. Amen.

Finita oratione veniat episcopus ante ostium occidentale ecclesiæ quæ dedicanda est: et incipiat episcopus antiphonam: chorus prosequatur.

Zachæe, festinans descende, quia hodie in domo tua oportet me manere. At ille festinans descendit, et suscepit illum gaudens in domum suam. Hodie huic domui salus a Domino facta est. Alleluia.

Qua finita, mitra deposita, dicat pontifex:

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. *Oratio.*

Actiones nostras, quæsumus Domine, aspirando præveni, et adjuvando prosequere, ut interveniente beata et gloriosa semperque virgine Dei genitrice Maria, cum omnibus sanctis, cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat et per te cœpta finiatur. Per eundem Christum.

Alia oratio.

Deus qui nos pastores in populo vocari voluisti: præsta, quæsumus, ut hoc quod humano ore dicimur, in tuis oculis esse valeamus. Per Christum.

Finita hac oratione, ejiciantur omnes ab ecclesia, solus vero diaconus ad hoc assignatus in ecclesia re-

cludatur. Et episcopus ante fores ecclesiæ benedicat aquam, more communi, et dum benedicit aquam illuminentur duodecim candelæ intrinsecus, et duodecim extrinsecus per circuitum ecclesiæ.

Exorcismus salis.

Exorcizo, te creatura salis, per Deum ✠ vivum, per Deum verum, per Deum sanctum, per Deum qui te per Heliseum prophetam in aquam mitti jussit, ut sanaretur sterilitas aquæ, ut efficiaris sal exorcizatum in salutem credentium, ut sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animæ et corporis, et effugiat atque discedat ab eo loco quo aspersum fueris, omnis phantasia, et nequitia vel versutia diabolicæ fraudis, omnisque spiritus immundus, adjuratus per eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem.

R. Amen.

Benedictio salis.

Immensam clementiam tuam, omnipotens sempiterne Deus, humiliter imploramus, ut hanc creaturam salis quam in usum humani generis tribuisti, bene✠dicere et sanctificare pro tua pietate digneris, ut sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis; et quicquid ex eo tactum vel aspersum fuerit, careat omni immunditia omnique impugnatione spiritualis nequitiæ, per virtutem ejusdem domini nostri Jesu Christi: qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem.

R. Amen.

Exorcismus aquæ.

Exorcizo te, creatura aquæ, in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis, ✠ et in nomine Jesu Christi, Filii ✠ ejus, domini nostri, et in virtute Spiritus sancti, ✠ ut fias aqua exorcizata ad effugandam omnem

potestatem inimici, et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare valeas, cum angelis suis apostaticis: per virtutem ejusdem domini nostri, Jesu Christi, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem. Amen. Oremus.

Sequatur benedictio aquæ.

Deus qui ad salutem humani generis, maxima quæque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto propitius invocationibus nostris, et elemento huic multimodis purificationibus præparato, virtutem tuæ bene✠dictionis infunde, ut creatura tua mysteriis tuis tibi serviens ad abjiciendos dæmones morbosque pellendos, divinæ gratiæ sumat effectum, et quicquid in domibus vel in locis fidelium hæc unda resperserit, careat omni immunditia, liberetur a noxa, non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens, discedant omnes insidiæ latentis inimici, et si quid est quod aut incolumitati habitantium invidet, aut quieti, aspersione hujus aquæ effugiat, ut salubritas per invocationem sancti tui nominis expetita, ab omni sit impugnatione defensa. Per dominum.

Hic mittat salem in aquam sic dicendo.

In nomine ✠ Patris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus ✠ sancti, hæc commixtio salis et aquæ efficiatur salutare sacramentum.

Benedictio salis et aquæ pariter cum,

Oremus.

Deus, invictæ virtutis auctor, et insuperabilis imperii rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui adversæ dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis sævitiam superas, qui hostiles nequitias potenter expugnas, te Domine trementes et supplices deprecamur ac petimus, ut hanc creaturam salis et

aquæ dignanter accipias, benignus illustres, pietatis tuæ more sanctifices ✠, ut ubicunque fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abjiciatur, terrorque venenosi serpentis procul pellatur, et præsentia sancti Spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubique adesse dignetur. Per dominum.

Postea episcopus induat se brachialia,[8] *et circumeat ipsam ecclesiam deforis cum clero et populo,*[9] *incipiens a parte sinistra, spargendo aquam in imo parietis ad fundamentum,*[10] *et chorus interim cantet hoc responsorium, episcopo inchoante:*

Fundata est domus Domini super verticem montium, et exaltata est super omnes colles, et venient ad eam omnes gentes. Et dicent, Gloria tibi Domine.

Versus. Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos. Et dicent.

Si non sufficiat hoc prædictum resp. dicatur a choro hæc antiphona:

Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portæ æternales;

Cum psalmo. Domini est terra.

Tunc stans ante ostium episcopus, dicat cum nota.

Oremus.

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[8] i.e. "*manicas lineas.*" See the rubric below.

[9] The litany of the saints was sung "*in circuitu ecclesiæ*" in the time of archbishop Egbert.

[10] As mentioned before, in the dissertation on service books, the Bangor pontifical has an illumination representing this part of the office. In the British museum is a splendid manuscript of the five books of the decretals, written early in the fourteenth century, and full of illuminations by some English artist. Among them (fol. 242) is one of the consecration of a church; similar in treatment and design to that in the Bangor book. Royal MS. 10. E. iv.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui in omni loco dominationis tuæ, totus assistis, totus operaris; adesto supplicationibus nostris, et hujus domus cujus es fundator esto protector: nulla hic nequitia contrariæ potestatis obsistat, sed virtute Spiritus sancti operante, fiat hic tibi semper purum servitium, et devota libertas. Per Christum.

Qua finita, eat episcopus ad januas consecrandas, clero præ foribus existente, accepta cruce, vel cum cambuca sua percutiat semel ostium,[11] *dicens cum nota:*

Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portæ æternales, et introibit rex gloriæ.

Cui diaconus respondeat sic:

Quis est iste rex gloriæ?

Et e contra episcopus respondeat:

Dominus fortis et potens.

Et recedens ab ostio circumeat secundo ipsam ecclesiam, cum clero, spargendo aquam altius quam primo.

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[11] An early writer thus explains this portion of the office: "Ut autem ostendat pontifex sibi concessam potestatem liberandi, et utiliter captivandi captivitatem diaboli sacramenta ecclesiæ ministrando ad singulos circuitus accedit ad ostium basilicæ, et superliminare percutit virga pastorali; . . percutiendoque dicit antiphonam 'Tollite,' &c. Principes populi, per basilicam non consecratam significati, dæmones sunt: portæ, per quas introeunt ad corda hominum, vitia sunt et prava opera. Hæc imperat auferri ut eleventur portæ, per quas introitur ad æternitatem, scilicet virtutes, ut introeat rex gloriæ ad corda hominum. Figuram autem populi præfati gerit archidiaconus, qui intus ad admonitionem pontificis quasi admirans interrogat 'Quis est iste rex gloriæ?' Post trinam percussionem ostium aperitur, quia trinitatis potestate pars adversa superatur." Hugo St. Victor, *De sacram.* lib. 1. cap. 2, *de trino accessu, &c.*

Interim chorus cantet hoc responsorium, episcopo incipiente sic :

In circuitu tuo Domine lumen est quod nunquam deficiet, ubi constituisti lucidissimas mansiones. Ibi requiescunt sanctorum animæ.

Versus. Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis Domine, et æternitas temporum. Ibi.

Si necesse fuerit dicitur antiphona : Tollite, *cum psalmo*, Domini est terra.

Postea veniat episcopus ante ostium et dicat :

Oremus.

Diaconus : Flectamus genua.

Levate.

Oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui per Filium tuum, angularem scilicet lapidem, duos e diverso venientes ex circumcisione et præputio parietes, duosque greges ovium sub uno eodemque pastore unisti : da famulis tuis per hæc nostræ devotionis officia indissolubile vinculum caritatis, ut nulla divisione mentium, nulla perversitatis varietate sequestrentur, quos sub unius regimine pastoris unus grex continet, uniusque te custode ovilis septa concludunt. Per eundem.

Post hæc accedens episcopus percutiat secundo superliminare, dicens ut supra :

Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portæ æternales, et introibit rex gloriæ.

Diaconus deintus dicat ;

Quis est iste rex gloriæ ?

Episcopus respondeat.

Dominus potens in prælio.

Et recedens ab ostio circueat ipsam ecclesiam tertio, aquam spargendo altius quam secundo, et interim

chorus cantet hoc responsorium, episcopo incipiente sic:

Benedic, Domine, domum istam, quam ædificavi nomini tuo. Venientium in loco isto exaudi preces in excelso solio gloriæ tuæ.

Versus. Si peccaverit in te populus tuus, et conversus egerit pœnitentiam, veniensque oraverit in loco isto, exaudi.

Si necesse fuerit dicitur responsorium: Tollite: *cum psalmo*, Domini est terra.

Postea veniat episcopus ante ostium, et dicat: Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui sacerdotibus tuis tantam præ cæteris gratiam contulisti, ut quicquid in tuo nomine digne perfecteque ab eis agitur, a te fieri credatur: quæsumus immensam clementiam tuam ut quicquid modo visitaturi sumus, visites; quicquid benedicturi, bene✠dicas; sitque ad nostræ humilitatis introitum, sanctorum tuorum meritis, fuga dæmonum, angeli pacis ingressus. Per dominum.

Tunc accedens ad ostium, repercutiat tertio superliminare ecclesiæ, et dicat sic:

Tollite portas, principes, vestras, et elevamini portæ æternales, et introibit rex gloriæ.

Et diaconus:

Quis est iste rex gloriæ.

Respons. episcopi:

Dominus virtutum, ipse est rex gloriæ.

Et adjiciat: Aperi.

Tunc, accepta cruce et ostio aperto, episcopus intret primus ecclesiam cum ministris, laicis exclusis, bajulans crucem et dicat:

Pax huic domui.[12]

Et diaconus qui erat intus, respondeat: In introitu.

Et dicant omnes: Amen.

Et claudatur ostium ecclesiæ, laicis exclusis.

Interim chorus cantet antiphonam:

Pax æterna ab æterno Patre huic domui: pax perennis, verbum Patris, sit pax huic domui: pacem pius consolator huic præstet domui.

Cum antiph. (?) *venerint in medium ecclesiæ, dicat episcopus, figendo crucem in medio quam bajulat ibique eam dimittat:*

Cum pellit hinc hostem, crux Christi defendat hic orantes. Crux Christi triumphat hic et in ævum. Amen.

Deinde fiant litaniæ: pontifice prostrato cum aliqua persona reverenda ante altare vel crucem, ibi dicendo secrete: et cum venerit ad versum, qui pro domino episcopo cantatur, surgat episcopus, et dicat sic, hoc modo:

Ut hanc ecclesiam et hoc altare, bene✠dicere digneris.

Resp.[13]

Ut hanc ecclesiam et hoc altare, bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare digneris. *Resp.* Ut hanc ecclesiam et hoc altare, bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare et conse✠crare digneris. *Resp.*

Finita litania dicat episcopus sic:

Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua.

Oratio.

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[12] From hence to the end of the office the student should compare the Sarum with the York use as given in the pontifical of archbishop Bainbridge.

[13] "Te rogamus audi nos."

Magnificare domine Deus noster in sanctis tuis, et in hoc templo tibi ædificato benignus appare, ut qui cuncta in filiis operaris adoptionis, ipse semper in tua hæreditate lauderis. Per eundem.

Deinde incipiat episcopus[14] *a sinistro angulo ec-*

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[14] The rite of inscribing either the whole alphabets both Greek and Latin, or some letters of them, or one alphabet, is very ancient. St. Gregory speaks of it in his *Liber sacramentorum:* "Deinde incipiat pontifex de sinistro angulo ab oriente scribens per pavimentum cum cambutta sua, A. B. C. usque ad dextrum angulum occidentis: incipiens iterum similiter a dextro angulo orientis, A.B. C. scribit usque in sinistrum angulum occidentis basilicæ." Here St. Gregory makes mention only of the Latin alphabet, and with him agree the English pontificals, both earlier than the eleventh century, printed by Martene. But these latter seem to direct the whole alphabet to be written twice; for they say, "scribat A. B. C. darium." Catalani on the other hand cites a very ancient pontifical, which appointed the Greek alphabet to be twice written; tom. 2. p. 63.

St. Gregory's is not the only book which speaks of the three first letters to be written, and not the complete alphabet, for other pontificals are said to direct the same; but in process of time it came to be the common practice, as in the Salisbury use, to write the two full alphabets Greek and Latin; and there is evidence that some bishops even added also the Hebrew; Menard, in his notes on the sacramentary, cites an anonymous author to this effect: "veruntamen quia ecclesiastica doctrina Hebraico, Græco, Latinoque sermone utitur maxime, ideo a quibusdum episcopis tria hæc alphabeta conscribantur." This was altogether contrary to the general practice of the church by which all notice of the Hebrew letters was omitted, because the Jews had fallen away from the faith.

Catalani, to whom I am indebted for the above, says also that in some places formerly it was the custom when more than one bishop was present (as often happened at such times) that the Latin alphabet was written by one, and the Greek by another. To prove, moreover, the apostolical authority for this observance, he quotes a story told by William of Malmesbury that on a certain occasion Mellitus bishop of London, proceeding early in the morning to consecrate a church, which was to be dedicated to God in honour of St. Peter, found the ceremonies

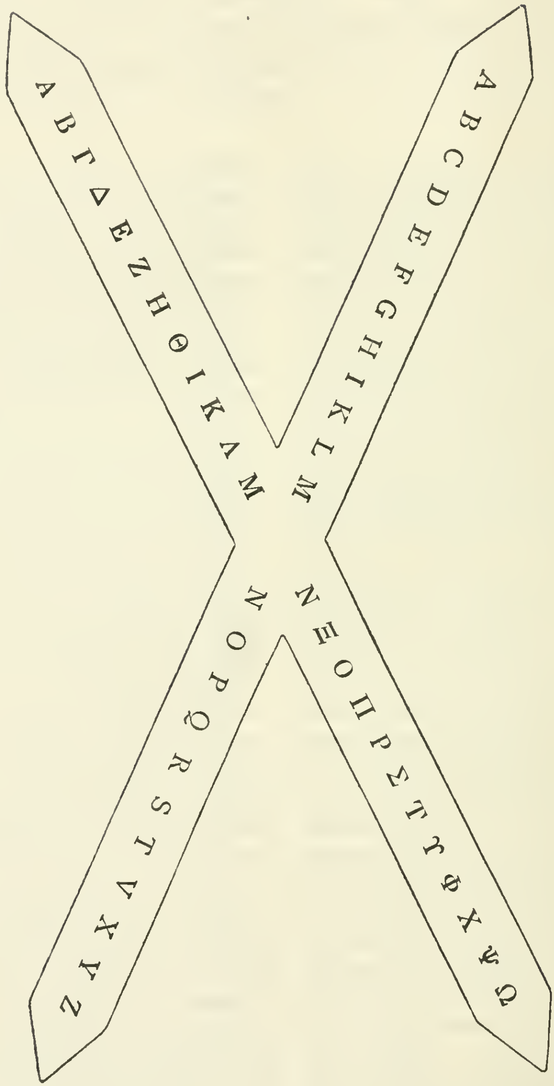
clesiæ ab oriente, scribere Græce per pavimentum cum cambuca sua totum alphabetum Græcum, usque in dextrum angulum occidentalem hoc modo subscripto. Sed attende quia Græci habent tantum viginti qua-

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apparently completed already during the night by the holy apostle himself: "Reseratis ecclesiæ valvis, vidit pavimentum utriusque alphabeti inscriptione signatum, parietem bis senis in locis sanctificationis oleo linitum, totidem cereorum reliquias duodenis crucibus inhærere, et quasi recenti respersione adhuc cuncta madescere." The same account, in almost the same words, is given by Ailred in his life of the confessor, *Script. X.* p. 386.

The mystical signification of this rite must not be omitted. Remigius Autissiodorus, in his treatise (before spoken of) *De dedicatione ecclesiæ*, has a chapter, "Quid significet quod sacerdos *al.* pontifex alphabetum in pavimento scribit." And he says: "Quid autem per alphabetum, nisi initia et rudimenta doctrinæ sacræ intelligi convenit? unde et Paulus Hebræis exprobrans, dicit: *Etenim cum deberetis magistri esse, propter tempus rursum indigetis, ut vos instruamini quæ sint elementa mundi et exordia sermonum Dei.* Scribit ergo pontifex alphabeti ordinem, cum fidei docet simplicitatem, et dicit cum Paulo apostolo, *Lac vobis potum dedi, non escam. Nondum enim poteratis, sed nec adhuc quidem potestis.* .... Sed quomodo eadem elementa scribi debeant, attendamus. Non passim, sed distincto ordine ab angulo sinistro orientali usque in dextrum angulum occidentalem." Martene, *de ant. ecc. rit.* tom. 2. p. 277. This treatise of Remigius is that which both Ivo Carnotensis and Durand followed in later years; repeating almost his own words. The alphabets were written (it may be added) in the form of a cross, to signify the union of all people and languages in the true faith by the cross of Christ.

In the modern Roman pontifical the bishop performs this part of the office whilst the same antiphon is being sung by the choir, the priests standing by. The pontifical of St. Dunstan and another English one edited by Martene appoint also an antiphon, as in the later Salisbury use; but different. Namely, "Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere præter illud denique quod positum est a Christo Domino. Cum ps. lxxxvj. Fundamenta ejus." Tom. 2. pp. 250, 256.


Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ
Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
A B C D E F G H I K L M
N O P Q R S T V X Y Z

tuor secundum Isidorum. Interim cantetur hæc antiphona.

O quam metuendus, *cum psalmo* Benedictus.

Totus psalmus dicatur cum Gloria Patri. *Et* Sicut erat in principio, &c. *Incipiensque similiter a dextro angulo orientali alphabetum Latinum scribat usque in sinistrum angulum occidentalem.*

Interim chorus cantet hanc antiphonam.

O quam metuendus est locus iste: vere non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei, et porta cœli.

Psalmus: Benedictus.

Totus psalmus dicatur cum, Gloria Patri, &c.

Hæc oratio sequens dicatur ibidem. Scilicet in occidentali parte ecclesiæ in medio inter extremitates alphabetorum, cum, Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus qui sanctum Moysen præ cunctis millibus Israeliticis familiarem tibi esse fecisti, ut ei diceres, Invenisti enim gratiam coram me, et te ipsum novi ex nomine quem et in montis Sinai cacumen induxisti, ubi in præfigurationem sanctæ ecclesiæ fabricandi tabernaculi sacramenta ostendisti; cui etiam duas tabulas lapideas digito tuo scriptas tradidisti, quarum una tria præcepta quæ ad fidem sanctæ Trinitatis, altera septem quæ ad custodiam constituendæ legis pertinebant, habebat: beatis apostolis tuis intercedentibus, exaudi vota orantium super hoc pavimentum in quo ad instrumentum fidei illorum divinarum characteres literarum a duobus angulis hujus domus usque in alios duos depinximus angulos, et verba legis tuæ in tabulis cordium eorum misericordiæ tuæ digito ascribe: præsta quoque ut quicquid ex ore humilitatis nostræ faciendum didicerint, hoc facere cupiant, sicque vivant ut illuc pervenire

valeant, ubi nomina sua in libro vitæ æternæ scripta esse gratulentur: per te Christe Jesu, cui cum æterno Patre sanctoque Spiritu, manet honor et perpetuitas in sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Deinde veniens ante altare, vel in medium ante crucem, pontifex flectendo genua dicat ter:

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

Chorus respondeat:

Domine ad adjuvandum.

Cum, Gloria Patri. *Sine*, Alleluia.

Deinde benedicat ibidem aquam cum sale, et cinere,[15] *et vino, hoc modo:*

Exorcizo te, creatura salis, in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui apostolis suis ait: vos estis sal terræ, et per apostolum dicit: sit cor vestrum sale conditum: ut sancti✠ficeris ad consecrationem hujus ecclesiæ, et altaris, ad expellendas omnes dæmonum temptationes, et omnibus qui ex te sumpserint, sis animæ et corporis tutamentum, et sanitas, et protectio, et confirmatio salutis. Per eundem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Benedictio salis.

Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, bene✠dic hanc creaturam salis, ad effugandum inimicum; et ei salu-

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[15] This second blessing of water inside the church is an ancient rite, and to be found in very early manuscripts; for example, in the Egbert pontifical. Remigius explains the symbolical meaning of the ashes: "Cinis autem significat consummationem Dominicæ passionis, quam significabat cinis vitulæ illius quæ mactari jussa est in lege ad expiationem populi." *De dedicat. ecc.* But Ivo Carnotensis in his discourse on the dedication of a church adds another explanation: "Sal cum cinere miscetur, cum populus ut sanctificari possit, divina sapientia [*vel* scientia] et fide Dominicæ passionis instruitur." *De rebus eccles.*

brem medicinam immitte, ut ad animæ et corporis sumentium proficiat sanitatem. Per dominum.

Sequitur exorcismus aquæ.

Exorcizo te, creatura aquæ, in nomine Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, ut repellas diabolum a termino justorum, ne sit in umbraculis hujus ecclesiæ, et altaris. Et tu, domine Jesu Christe, infunde Spiritum sanctum in hanc ecclesiam tuam, ut proficiat ad sanitatem corporum animarumque adorantium te, et magnificetur nomen tuum in gentibus, et increduli corde convertantur ad te, et non habeant alium deum, præter te Dominum solum, qui vivis et regnas, cum Patre et eodem Spiritu sancto, per omnia.

Benedictio aquæ.

Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, statutor omnium elementorum, qui per Jesum Christum Filium tuum dominum nostrum, hoc elementum aquæ in salutem humani generis esse voluisti, supplices te deprecamur, ut exauditis orationibus nostris eam tuæ pietatis respectu sancti✠fices, atque ita omnium spirituum immundorum ab ea recedat incursio, ut ubicunque fuerit in nomine tuo aspersa, gratia tuæ benedic✠tionis adveniat, et mala omnia, te propitiante, procul recedant: per Dominum.

Benedictio cineris.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, parce metuentibus, propitiare supplicibus, et mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de cœlis, qui bene✠dicat et sancti✠ficet cineres istos, ut sint remedium salutare omnibus nomen tuum sanctum humiliter implorantibus, ac semetipsos pro conscientia delictorum suorum accusantibus, atque ante conspectum divinæ clementiæ tuæ facinora sua deplorantibus, vel serenissimam

pietatem tuam suppliciter obnixeque flagitantibus; præsta quæsumus per invocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, ut quicunque eos super se asperserint pro redemptione peccatorum, corporis sanitatem et animæ tutelam percipiant. Per dominum.

Tunc misceantur sal et cinis in modum crucis, episcopus ter accipiens quantum pugillo capere potest, faciens inde crucem ter super aquam, dicens hoc modo.

Hæc commixtio salis et cineris cum aqua benedicta, sit sancti✠ficata ad consecrationem hujus ecclesiæ et altaris. In nomine ✠ Patris, et ✠ Filii, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen.

Sequatur, Dominus vobiscum.

Et Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus, invictæ virtutis auctor, et insuperabilis imperii rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui adversæ dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis sævitiam superas, qui hostiles nequitias potenter expugnas, te, Domine, trementes et supplices deprecamur, ac petimus ut hanc creaturam salis et cineris et aquæ dignanter accipias, benignus illustres, pietatis tuæ rore sancti✠fices, ut ubicunque fuerit aspersa per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abjiciatur, terrorque venenosi serpentis procul pellatur, et præsentia sancti Spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus ubique adesse dignetur. Per dominum.

Benedictio vini.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui es vitis vera, qui in Cana Galilææ vinum ex aqua fecisti, multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, et bene✠dic atque sancti✠fica hanc creaturam vini, ut super quodcunque ex

ea fusum fuerit divinæ benedictionis tuæ dulcedine repleatur, salvator mundi, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto, vivis et regnas.

Deinde ponat vinum in aquam dicens:

Fiat commixtio aquæ et vini ad consecrationem hujus ecclesiæ et altaris, in nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen.

Sequitur præfatio.

Deum Patrem omnipotentem, fratres carissimi, in cujus domo mansiones multæ sunt, deprecemur ut habitaculum istud benedicere et custodire dignetur per aspersionem aquæ hujus cum vino mixtæ: ut tenebras ab eo repellat, et lumen infundat, nullam sævienti adversario tribuat potestatem, sed propria sit domus Dei, et nullam in ea inimicus habeat licentiam nocendi. Per dominum.

Benedictio aquæ vino mixtæ.[16]

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, creator et conservator humani generis, et dator gratiæ spiritualis, atque largitor æternæ salutis, mitte Spiritum tuum sanctum super hoc vinum cum aqua mixtum, ut armatum cœlestis defensione virtutis ad consecrationem hujus ecclesiæ et altaris tui proficiat. Per dominum. In unitate ejusdem.

Tunc procedens episcopus ad altare ibidem incipiat, et deinde circumeat ipsam ecclesiam, aquam sanctam spargendo per parietes in imo incipiens in dextra parte orientis, usquedum iterum redeat in orientem.

Interim cantetur antiphona.

Hæc est domus Domini firmiter ædificata, bene fundata est supra firmam petram.

Psalmus. Lætatus sum.

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[16] "*Deinde misceatur vinum cum aqua, et dicat hanc orationem:* Deus, creator et conservator," &c. *Pontif. Egbert.*

Interim circumeat episcopus ecclesiam, spargendo aquam in medio parietum, cantando antiphonam.

Exurgat Deus ad nostri famulatus obsequium, et in loco sancto ejus fiat benedictionis augmentum.

Psalmus. In ecclesiis.

Tertio circumeat similiter ecclesiam, aquam spargendo in summitate parietum, cantando antiphonam.

Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur.

Psalmus. Ipsum.

Quo peracto, sequatur oratio ante altare cum Oremus.

Oratio.

Sic bene✠dictionem tuam, quæsumus Domine, populus fidelis ad honorem et laudem nominis tui veniens accipiat, qua corpore salvatus ac mente hic gratam tibi semper exhibeat servitutem, et propitiationis tuæ beneficia jugiter inveniat: per Christum dominum nostrum.

Deinde aspergat aquam in modum crucis, per medium ecclesiæ in longum et in altum, per pavimentum ipsius ecclesiæ, cantando antiphonam.

Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.

Psalmus. Narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis, in medio ecclesiæ laudabo te.

Non dicatur, Gloria.

Sequatur, Oremus.

Oratio.

Adjutor altissime Deus, et protector cœlestis, preces nostras clementer exaudi, nobisque misericordiam tuam poscentibus concede, ut quicumque intra parietes hujus ecclesiæ te clamaverint, omnium veniam peccatorum et gaudia percipere mereantur æterna. Per dominum.

Deinde pergat episcopus extra ecclesiam cum choro, spargendo aquam in imo per parietes, cantando hanc antiphonam.

Fundamenta templi hujus sapientia sua fundavit Deus, in quo dominum cœli collaudant angeli; subruant venti, et fluant flumina, non possunt eam movere nunquam, fundata enim erat supra petram.

Psalmus. Fundamenta.

Circumeat ecclesiam spargendo aquam in medio parietum, cantando antiphonam.

Qui regis Israel intende super domum istam, qui deducis velut ovem Joseph auge in ea benedictionem tuam, qui sedes super cherubin exaudi preces supplicum in ea tibi confitentium.

Psalmus. Excita, Domine, potentiam tuam et veni.

Tertio circumeat episcopus ecclesiam spargendo aquam in summo parietum cantando antiphonam.

Benedic, Domine, domum istam quam ædificavi nomini tuo, ut sint oculi tui aperti super eam die ac nocte.

Psalmus. Magnus Dominus.

Sequatur oratio.

Omnipotens sempiternæ gloriæ Deus, qui sanctas portas Sion super omnia tabernacula Jacob diligis: da huic, quæsumus Domine, domui benedictionem tuam, et præsta ut nostræ fidei fundamenta nulla spiritualium nequitiarum impedimenta, nulla ventorum ✠ flamina, aut dira temptationum flumina nunquam valeant dejicere. Per dominum.

Deinde intret episcopus ecclesiam, cantando hanc antiphonam:

Benedictus es in templo sancto gloriæ tuæ, quod

ædificatum est ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui, Domine.

Psalmus. Benedictus.

Et stans in medio ecclesiæ, spargat aquam ad orientem, et occidentem, et aquilonem, et austrum, et contra cavenam ecclesiæ, et super pavimentum, et postea dicat episcopus.

Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Deus qui loca nomini tuo dedicanda sancti✠ficas, effunde super hanc orationis domum gratiam tuam, ut ab omnibus hic invocantibus nomen tuum auxilium misericordiæ tuæ sentiatur. Per dominum.

Interim dicat episcopus cum nota. Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Levate.

Et sic sequatur hæc oratio in consecratione ecclesiæ. Oratio.

Deus sanctificationum, omnipotens dominator, cujus pietas sine fine sentitur; Deus qui cœlestia simul et terrena complecteris, servans misericordiam tuam populo tuo ambulanti ante conspectum gloriæ tuæ, exaudi preces servorum tuorum, ut sint oculi tui aperti super domum istam die ac nocte; hanc quoque basilicam in honorem sanctæ Trinitatis, et sanctæ ac victoriosissimæ crucis, et sancti *N.* sacris mysteriis institutam, clementissimus dedi✠ca, miseratus illus✠tra, proprio splendore clarifica et benedicito ✠, omnemque hominem venientem adorare te in loco isto placatus admitte, propitius respicere dignare, et propter nomen tuum magnum, et manum fortem, et brachium excelsum, in hoc habitaculo supplicantes libens protege, dignanter exaudi, æterna defensione conserva, ut semper felices semperque

in tua religione lætantes, constanter in sanctæ Trinitatis confessione fide catholica perseverent: *terminando secrete*, per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Adesto precibus nostris, adesto sacramentis, adesto etiam piis famulorum tuorum laboribus, nobisque misericordiam tuam poscentibus. Descendat quoque in hanc ecclesiam tuam, quam sub invocatione sancti nominis tui, in honorem sanctæ Trinitatis, et sanctæ crucis, in qua coæternus tibi Filius tuus dominus noster Jesus Christus pro redemptione mundi pati dignatus est, et sancti[17] apostoli tui .*N. vel*, martyris tui .*N. vel*, confessoris tui .*N. vel*, sanctæ virginis tuæ .*N.* indigni consecramus, Spiritus sanctus tuus septiformis gratiæ ubertate redundans; ut quotiescumque in hac domo tua sanctum nomen tuum fuerit invocatum, eorum qui te invocaverint a te pio Domino preces exaudiantur. O beata et sancta Trinitas, quæ omnia purificas, omnia mundas, et omnia perornas: O beata majestas Dei, quæ

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[17] "Et memoriam." *Pontif. Rom.*

cuncta imples, cuncta contines, et cuncta disponis: O beata et sancta manus Dei, quæ omnia sanctificas, omnia benedicis, omnia locupletas: O sancte sanctorum Deus, tuam clementiam humillima devotione deposcimus, ut hanc ecclesiam per nostræ famulatum humilitatis in honorem sanctæ Trinitatis, et sanctæ ac victoriosissimæ crucis, et sanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ, et sancti apostoli tui .*N. vel*, martyris tui .*N. vel*, confessoris tui .*N. vel*, sanctæ virginis tuæ .*N.* puri✠ficare, bene✠dicere, et conse✠crare perpetua sanctificationis tuæ ubertate digneris. Hic quoque sacrificia sacerdotes tibi laudis offerant, hic fideles populi vota persolvant, hic peccatorum onera solvantur, fidelesque lapsi reparentur. In hac ergo, quæsumus Domine, domo tua sancti Spiritus gratia ægroti sanentur, infirmi restituantur, claudi curentur, leprosi mundentur, cæci illuminentur, dæmonia ejiciantur: cunctorum hic debilium incommoda, te Domine annuente, pellantur, omniumque vincula peccatorum absolvantur: ut omnes qui hoc templum beneficia juste deprecaturi ingrediuntur, cuncta se impetrasse lætentur, ut concessa misericordia quam precantur, perpetuo miserationis tuæ munere glorientur: *terminando secrete*, per eundem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Deinde inchoata antiphona, Lapides, *eat pontifex in circuitu ecclesiæ intus, et faciat crucem cum pollice suo de ipso chrismate, in duodecim locis signatis cruce introrsus, incipiendo juxta altare ad meridiem a dextris, ita dicens in qualibet unctione.*

Sanctificetur hoc templum ✠ per istam sanctam

unctionem et nostram bene✠dictionem, in honorem Sancti .*N.* In nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus Sancti ✠.

Pax huic domui, *vel* Pax tibi.

Resp. Deo gratias.

Interim chorus cantet hanc antiphonam.

Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui, et turres Jerusalem gemmis ædificabuntur.

Psalmus. Lauda Jerusalem.

Totus psalmus dicatur cum, Gloria Patri.

Postea dicatur hæc oratio sequens ab episcopo in medio ecclesiæ cum,

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, effunde super locum hunc gratiam tuam, et omnibus in te sperantibus auxilium tui muneris ostende, ut hic sacramentorum tuorum virtus, et votorum obtineatur effectus. Per Christum.

Postea pontifex egrediens hoc ipsum extra cum chrismate in circuitu ecclesiæ, choro canente antiphonam.

Unxit te Dominus oleo lætitiæ, præ consortibus tuis.

Psalmus. Eructavit.

Totus psalmus dicatur cum, Gloria Patri.

Et repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum psalmi si necesse fuerit. Hoc peracto, episcopus antequam intraverit ecclesiam, ante januas ecclesiæ dicat hanc orationem cum,

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deus, qui de vivis et electis lapidibus æternum majestati tuæ condis habitaculum, auxiliare populo supplicanti ut ecclesia tua cœlestibus amplificetur augmentis. Per Christum.

Quo expleto et perunctis parietibus, intret pontifex ecclesiam, et ipsam ecclesiam circumeat intus ter cum incenso eodem modo thurificando quo asperserit aquam, incipiendo juxta altare a meridie a dextris, et sic eodem modo extra, choro interim canente antiphonam.

Domine ad te dirigatur oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu majestatis tuæ.

Psalmus. Domine clamavi.

Totus psalmus dicatur, et repetatur antiphona si necesse fuerit, post unumquemque versum psalmi.

Deinde veniens episcopus ante ostium ecclesiæ vel in medium ecclesiæ elevata manu dicat benedictionem sequentem:

Benedictio ✠ Dei Patris omnipotentis ingeniti, Filiique ✠ ipsius unigeniti, necnon Spiritus ✠ sancti Paracliti ab utroque procedentis, maneat jugiter super ecclesiam istam in sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Deinde sequatur altarium consecratio cum ecclesia.

Postquam episcopus ingressus fuerit cancellum, accedat unus de ministris suis, et sumat de illa aqua sanctificata in quandam parvam pelvim, deinde procedens episcopus ad altare, primum et cum pollice suo chrisma in aquam modicam sumptam in pelvim mittat in modum crucis, sic dicendo:

Sancti✠ficetur aqua ista hoc salutifero chrismate, et nostra bene✠dictione ad consecrationem horum altarium. In nomine ✠ Patris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen.

Tunc de ipsa aqua chrismata faciat crucem in mediis mensis altaris, dicens:

Sancti✠ficetur hoc altare. In nomine ✠ Patris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Pax tecum. Et cum.

Deinde dextra parte atque sinistra, ac etiam per quatuor cornua altaris, fiant similiter cruces, repetens in qualibet unctione verba præmissa, et postea cum hyssopo aspergat de prima aqua non chrismata ipsum altare septem vicibus vel tribus, incipiendo singulis vicibus hanc antiphonam.

Asperges me Domine hyssopo, et mundabor: lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.

Psalmus. Miserere.

Totus psalmus dicatur cum, Gloria Patri.

Et post unumquemque versum, si necesse fuerit, repetatur antiphona.

Tunc episcopus ad altare rediens dicat: Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua.

Oratio. Pateant ad hæc altaria aures misericordiæ tuæ precibus supplicantium, et gratiam divinitatis tuæ per presentiam sancti Spiritus super ista clementer asperge; ac intercedente beata Dei genitrice Maria, beato apostolo tuo .*N. vel,* martyre tuo .*N. vel,* confessore tuo .*N. vel,* beata virgine tua .*N.* in cujus veneratione hæc consecramus, annue ut vivi lapides per te erigamur in cœlis, sacris tecum permansuri ædificiis, atque ut petentibus hic desiderata concedas, Paracliti tui inspirante clementia corda nostra, divinæ sapientiæ condimento clementer expurga: ut tibi placita postulare, et petita dignanter a te obtinere mereamur, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Quo peracto, lavet tabulam altaris de aqua sacrata non chrismata, residuum vero aquæ chrismatæ fundat ad basim altaris ad hoc factam. Hoc peracto redeat episcopus ad altare, et in cundo dicat antiphonam.

Introibo ad altare Dei mei, ad Deum qui lætificat juventutem meam.

Psalmus. Judica me, Deus.

Et sæpe repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum psalmi, si necesse fuerit.

Benedictio tabulæ altaris cum, Oremus.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, misericordiam tuam vocibus exultantibus deprecamur: ut qui per omnem mundum fidem sparsisti, ecclesiam congregasti, quique lapidem abscissum de monte sine manibus angulari compage solidasti; hæc quoque altaria serenus illustra, hæc æterno lumine irriga, et ita diversis charismatibus undique locupleta, ut super illa admirandam Filii tui hostiam ipse benedicas impositam, ipse suscipias consecratam. Per eundem.

Postea differatur incensum, et dum pontifex cum eo faciat cruces super altare dicatur interim graduale, episcopo incipiente:

Dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, Domine.

Versus. Elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.

Dicto graduali extergat altare cum linteo, cantando antiphonam.

Ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et Spiritus Dei habitat in nobis; templum enim Dei sanctum est quod estis vos, pro cujus amore celebratis hodie gaudia templi, tempore festi.

Psalmus. Lauda Jerusalem.

Sequitur oratio cum, Oremus.

Oratio. Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, creator cœli et terræ, maris et omnium elementorum, supplices majestatem tuam exoramus et petimus, ut bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare

digneris altaria hæc ex lapidea creatura tua manu hominis adquadrata, sicut benedicere dignatus es altare illud quod Noë post transactum cataclysmum per verbum sanctum tuum in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis ædificavit, super quod diversa animantia terræ oblata sunt, munda et immunda in figura gentilium quæ a Spiritu sancto mundata, et in odorem suavitatis accepta scriptura commemorante cognovimus, suscipiatur, quæsumus Domine, hic superpositum beneficium, quodcumque per manus sacerdotum tibi fuerit oblatum, et proficiat offerentibus et communicantibus in vitam æternam. Per Christum.

Tunc de oleo sanctificato ad catechumenos, faciat pontifex crucem in medio altaris, et ungat ipsum lapidem infra cruces manu sua de oleo sanctificato, per unamquamque infusionem dicens:

Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine Deus, lapidem istum per istam unctionem et nostram bene✠dictionem. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Resp. Amen.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona.

Erexit Jacob lapidem in titulum, fundens oleum desuper.

Psalmus. Quam dilecta.

Et semper sacerdos præparatus faciat incensum per circuitum altaris, donec ipsius consecratio finiatur. Sequitur,

Oremus. *Oratio.*

Deum, universitatis artificem et immensæ molis admirabilem conditorem, fratres carissimi, votis exultantibus deprecemur, ut qui per mundum totum fidem aspersit, et ecclesiam congregavit quam lapis

excisus sine manibus angulari compage solidavit, ut attolleret caput in cœlum qui de cœlo accepit fundamentum: altaria hæc ad conficiendum in eis vitæ sacramenta composita, ita chrismate divinæ sanctificationis perfundat, ut super illa adorandam Filii sui hostiam ipse benedicat impositam, ipse suscipiat consecratam. Sit hæc victima unitati substantiæ et personarum Trinitati grata et acceptabilis, ut hæc altaria quæ per invocationem nominis sui pio dedicamus officio, præsentia suæ visitationis illustret, et sanctificatione benedicat, et perpetua inhabitatione possideat, qui unus in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Interim autem de eodem oleo, perungat episcopus lapidem sicut prius, dicendo:

Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine Deus, lapidem istum per istam sanctam unctionem et nostram bene✠dictionem. Per Christum dominum. ℟. Amen.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona:

Mane surgens Jacob erigebat lapidem in titulum, fundens oleum desuper: votum vovit Domino: vere locus iste sanctus est, et ego nesciebam.

Psalmus. Bonum est confiteri Domino.

Sequitur Oremus.

Oratio. Deus, qui sacrificandum primogenitum tibi populum tabernaculi exemplar in monte Sina Moysi famulo tuo mysticis significationibus demonstrasti, secundum cœlestium formam terris sanctum disponens, ut ad te ipsum quæ nostra videntur attraheres, et supernis terrena sociares, quatenus eminentiæ spiritualis illuc tenderet, te vocante, fastigium; unde te ordinante sumpsit exordium; hæc quoque altaria salutaribus celebrandæ redemptionis mysteriis

præparata rore cœlestis unguenti asperge, et aromatibus divinæ sanctificationis perfunde, ac munus gratiæ consecrantis super illa placatus impone, dignaque sint supra quæ electas ad sacrificium creaturas, in corpus et sanguinem Redemptoris virtus secreta convertat, et in sacras agni hostias invisibili mutatione transcribat, ut sicut Verbum caro factum est, ita in Verbi substantiam benedicta oblationis natura proficiat, et quod prius victui fuerat alimonia vita hic efficiatur æterna: per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Dicta oratione accipiat chrisma, et similiter sicut de oleo perungat ipsum lapidem, et pontifex ut prius dicat:

Consecra✠re et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine Deus, lapidem istum per sacri chrismatis unctionem et nostram benedictionem; per Christum dominum nostrum.

Resp. Amen.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona.

Ecce odor filii mei, sicut odor agri pleni cui benedixit Dominus.

Psalmus. Fundamenta.

Post hæc confricet pontifex totum altare manu sua, spargendo oleum et chrisma, et ut prius dicat:

Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine Deus, lapidem istum per sacri chrismatis et olei unctionem et nostram benedic✠tionem: Per Christum.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona.

Sanctificavit Dominus tabernaculum suum, hæc est domus Dei in qua invocetur nomen ejus, de qua scriptum est, erit nomen meum ibi dicit Dominus.

Psalmus. Deus noster refugium.

Oratio.

Singulare illud propitiatorium, quod se in ara crucis nobis redimendis obtulit immolandum, cujus præfiguratione patriarcha Jacob lapidem erexit in titulum, quo fieret sacrificium, et porta cœli desuper aperiretur exauditionis oraculum, tibi, Domine, suppliciter preces fundimus ut horum altarium expolitas materies supernis sacrificiis imbuendas, ipse tuæ dotari sanctificationis ubertate præcipias, qui quondam lapideis legem scripsisti in tabulis. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto.

Oratio.

Deus omnipotens, universarum rerum rationabilis artifex, qui inter cæteras creaturas formam lapidei metalli ad obsequium tui sacrificii condidisti, ut legis libatorium tuo præparetur altari, annue dignanter, hujus institutor mysterii, ut quicquid hic oblatum sacratumve fuerit, nomini tuo assurgat, religioni proficiat, spei innitatur, fidei sit præcipue dignum honore. Per dominum nostrum.

Sequitur benedictio incensi cum Dominus vobiscum, *et* Oremus.

Oratio. Domine Deus omnipotens, cui astat exercitus angelorum cum tremore, quorum servitium spirituale et igneum esse cognoscitur, dignare respicere, et bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare hanc creaturam incensi, ut omnes languores cunctæque insidiæ inimici, odore ejus percepto, fugentur a plasmate tuo, quod pretioso sanguine redimisti. Qui tecum.

Hic faciat crucem thurificando desuper altare, cum incenso ultra quamlibet crucem, choro interim canente hanc antiphonam:

Domine ad te dirigatur oratio mea sicut incensum, in conspectu majestatis tuæ.

Psalmus. Domine clamavi.

Hoc facto dicat pontifex. Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Dei Patris omnipotentis misericordiam deprecemur, dilectissimi fratres, ut hæc altaria sacrificiis spiritualibus consecranda, nostræ vocis exoratus officio præsenti bene✠dictione sancti✠ficet, et in eis semper oblationes famulorum suorum studio devotionis impositas, bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare dignetur, et spirituali placatus incenso, precanti familiæ suæ promptus exauditor assistat. Per dominum.

Hic ponat episcopus quinque grana incensi benedicti in modum crucis in medio altaris et in quatuor angulis, et desuper quinque cruces de gracili candela factas, ubi unctio chrismatis facta fuit, et incendantur candelæ.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona.

Ascendit fumus aromatum in conspectu Domini de manu angeli.

Psalmus. In Domine confido.

Sequatur: Dominus vobiscum, *et*, Oremus.

Oratio. Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, clemens et propitius preces humilitatis nostræ exaudi, et respice ad horum altarium holocaustum, quod non in igne visibili probetur, sed in effusione Spiritus sancti in odorem suavitatis ascendat, et legitime se sumentibus eucharistia medicabilis fiat, et ad vitam proficiat sempiternam. Per dominum.

Sequatur resp. Ædificavit Noe altare Domino offerens super illud holocausta: odoratus est Dominus odorem suavitatis et benedixit eis. Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram.

Vers.

Ecce ego statuam pactum meum vobiscum, et cum semine vestro post vos.

Crescite.

Sequitur altaris consecratio.

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio. Quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, in cujus honore altaria hæc consecramus, clemens et propitius preces nostræ humilitatis exaudi : et præsta, ut in hiis mensis, sint tibi libamina accepta, sint grata, sint pinguia, et sancti Spiritus tui semper rore perfusa : ut omni tempore hoc in loco supplicantis familiæ tuæ anxietates releves, ægritudines cures, preces exaudias, vota suscipias, desiderata confirmes, postulata concedas : *terminando secrete :* per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Et ut propensiori cura, et attentiori famulatu tibi servitutis officia deferamus, hoc præsertim tempore, quo religiosarum mentium habitum ultra parietum ornatum delegisti : vel templum istud in quo altaria hæc in quibus sanctæ Trinitatis, *vel* sanctæ Mariæ, *vel* sancti apostoli tui *N.*, *vel* sancti martyris tui *N.*, *vel*

sancti confessoris tui *N.*, *vel* sanctæ virginis tuæ *N.* mentio habetur, bene✠dicere et sancti✠ficare digneris: per quorum sacram reverentiam et honorem, sacratissimo nomini tuo hæc altaria dedicamus. Horum, Domine, igitur efflagitatus precibus, dignare hæc altaria cœlesti sanctificatione perfundere, et bene✠dicere. Assistant angeli claritatis, et sancti Spiritus illustratione præfulgeant. Sint illius quoque apud te gratiæ, cujus fuit illud quod Abraham, pater fidei, in nostræ figuram redemptionis filium immolaturus exstruxit, quod Isaac in conspectu tuæ majestatis instituit, quod Jacob Dominum magna videns visione erexit: ut hic orantes exaudias, hic oblata sancti✠fices, hicque superposita benedicas, hic quoque benedicta distribuas. Sint ergo ecclesiæ tuæ tituli sempiterni, sint mensæ cœlesti spirituali quoque convivio præparatæ. Tu ergo, Domine, proprio ore tuo hostias super eas impositas bene✠dicito, et benedictas suscipito: atque nobis omnibus tribue ut participatione earum, vitam acquiramus sempiternam.

Terminando secrete.

Per dominum nostrum.

Sequatur oratio cum, Oremus.

Oratio.

Domine sancte, Pater clemens, cujus nec initium nec finis advertitur, qui tantus es quantus esse voluisti, scilicet sanctus et mirabilis Deus, cujus majestatem elementa non capiunt, te benedicimus, te supplices deprecamur, ut sint tibi altaria hæc, sicut illud quod Abel salutaribus mysteriis in passione præcursor, jugulatus a fratre, novo sanguine imbuit et sacravit; sint tibi, Domine, altaria hæc sicut illud quod Abraham, pater noster quia videre te meruit,

fabricavit, in quo summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech sacrificii normam triumphalis expressit: sint tibi altaria hæc sicut illud in quo Abraham seminarium fidei nostræ Isaac filium suum, dum tibi toto corde credidit, imposuit, in quo salutari mysterio sacramentum Dominicæ passionis ostensum est, dum offertur filius, et agnus occiditur: sint tibi, Domine, altaria hæc sicut illud quod Isaac puteum profundæ puritatis inveniens, abundantiæ ei nomen imponens, tuæ majestati dicavit: sint tibi hæc altaria, sicut ille lapis quem Jacob supponens capiti suo, ascendentes et descendentes per scalæ mysterium somno revelante cognovit: sint tibi altaria hæc sicut illud quod Moyses, susceptis mandatis tuis, in præfiguratione apostolica duodecim lapidum constructione firmavit: sint tibi, Domine, altaria hæc sicut illud quod Moyses septem dierum purificatione mundavit, et cœlesti tuo alloquio, sanctum vocavit: sicut locutus es ad Moysen, dicens: si quis tetigerit altare hoc sanctificatus habeatur. In hiis ergo altaribus juguletur luxuria, omnisque libido feriatur, offeratur pro turturibus sacrificium castitatis, pro pullis columbarum innocentiæ sacrificium. Per Christum.

Si autem fuerit altare immobile consecratum, statim ungatur frons lapidis in modum crucis chrismate, episcopo dicente:

Conse✠crare et sancti✠ficare digneris, Domine, frontem hujus lapidis per sacri chrismatis unctionem, et nostram bene✠dictionem. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Resp. Amen.

Si autem altare non fuerit immobile, tunc dimittetur unctio frontis lapidis, et etiam hæc sequens antiphona:

Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis, a templo sancto tuo quod est in Jerusalem.

In tempore paschali. Alleluia. Alleluia.

Psalmus. Exurgat Deus.

Hæc sequens oratio dicitur, tam super altare mobile quam immobile.

Sequatur, Oremus.

Oratio.

Majestatem tuam, Domine, humiliter imploramus, ut altaria hæc sacræ unctionis libamine ad suscipienda populi munera inuncta potenter bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare digneris; et quod nunc a nobis indignis, sub tui nominis invocatione, in honore sanctæ Trinitatis *vel* sanctæ Mariæ *vel* sancti apostoli tui *N. vel* sancti martyris tui *N. vel* sancti confessoris tui *N. vel* sanctæ virginis tuæ *N.* sacrosancti chrismatis unctione sunt delibuta, placeant tibi atque altaria in perpetuum benedicta maneant: et quicquid deinceps super illa oblatum sacratumve fuerit, dignum tibi fiat holocaustum, atque omnium hic offerentium sacrificia a te pio Domino benigne suscipiantur, et per ea peccatorum nostrorum vincula absolvantur, maculæ deleantur, veniæ impetrentur, gratiæ acquirantur: quatenus una cum sanctis et electis tuis vitam percipere mereamur æternam. Per dominum.

Tunc thurificet totum altare circumquaque, incipiens istam antiphonam.

Stetit angelus juxta aram templi, habens thuribulum aureum in manu sua.

Sequatur, Oremus.

Oratio.

Dirigatur oratio mea, quæsumus Domine, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo, et copiosa beneficia hic

populus Christianus assequatur; ut quicumque tibi in hoc altari sacranda libamina devotus obtulerit, vel susceperit, et vitæ subsidia præsentis accipiat, et remissionem omnium peccatorum pariter consequatur, et gratiam sempiternæ redemptionis percipiat. Per dominum.

Tunc deponat episcopus brachialia, i. e. manicas lineas, quas ponunt quidem super albam et tunicam ad conservandum munde brachia induta ab aqua. Post hæc in altari thure totaliter combusto, amoveant ministri chrismationes cum cultro ferreo vel ligneo, et extergant altare diligenter, et cineres combustionis in pelvi collectos, mittant in piscinam vel in ignem. Deinde si habeantur aliqua nova benedicenda, teneant subdiaconi vel acolyti linteamina, vel omnia ornamenta, vel vasa sacrata, quæcumque ad cultum Dei et ecclesiæ pertinere videntur, et benedicat ea pontifex juxta hunc modum.

Benedictio linteaminum cum,

Dominus vobiscum.

Et, Oremus.

Oratio.

Domine Deus omnipotens, qui ab initio hominibus utilia et necessaria creasti, quique sacerdotalia vestimenta sacerdotibus, et levitica levitis, ornamenta quoque et linteamina facere famulum tuum Moysen per quadraginta dies docuisti, quæ soror ipsius Maria honorifice fecit, et texuit in usum tabernaculi fœderis, te quæsumus, sancti✠ficare, bene✠dicere, consecra✠reque digneris hæc linteamina in usum altaris tui ad ipsum tegendum, et super ea conficiendum corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui tecum.

Alia benedictio.

Dignare, Domine Deus omnipotens, rex regum, et dominus dominantium, sacerdos omnium et pontifex universorum, per quem una cum Patre sanctoque Spiritu facta sunt universa in nomine tuo, bene✠dicere, conse✠crare, et sancti✠ficare digneris hæc omnia ornamenta hujus altaris: et quemadmodum sanctificasti officia tabernaculi testimonii, ita nunc manens in æternum summus sacerdos sacerdotum, omnia instrumenta hujus ecclesiæ quæ inter nostras manus habentur, corde puro precamur, ut bene✠dicas, puri✠fices, con✠secres, et sanctificata conserves, qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre.

Deinde aspersis aqua benedicta ornamentis, diaconi vestiant altare.

Interim chorus cantet antiphonam.

Circumdate Syon, et complectimini eam, narrate in turribus ejus.

Psalmus. Magnus Dominus.

Post velatum altare hæc dicatur oratio.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, altare hoc nomini tuo dedicatum, cœlestis virtutis bene✠dictione sanctifica, et omnibus in te sperantibus auxilii tui munus ostende, ut hic et sacramentorum virtus, et votorum obtineatur effectus. Per Christum.

Postea offeratur incensum, et incensetur altare.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona.

Omnis terra adoret te, Deus, et psallat tibi: psalmum dicat nomini tuo, Domine.

Post hæc dicat episcopus hanc orationem hoc modo.

Descendat, quæsumus, Domine Deus noster, Spiritus tuus sanctus super hoc altare, qui et populi tui dona sancti✠ficet, et sumentium corda purificet. Per dominum.

Sequitur missa de dedicatione ecclesiæ.

Ad missam officium.

Terribilis est locus iste, hic domus Dei est, et porta cœli, et vocabitur aula Dei.

In tempore paschali. Alleluia.

Ps. Dominus regnavit, decorem indutus est, indutus est Dominus fortitudinem, et præcinxit se.

Oratio.

Deus qui nobis per singulos annos hujus sancti templi consecrationis reparas diem, et sacris semper mysteriis repræsentas incolumes, exaudi preces populi tui, et præsta, ut quisquis hoc templum beneficia petiturus ingreditur, cuncta se impetrasse lætetur. Per dominum.

Lectio libri apocalypsis beati Johannis apostoli.

In diebus illis. Vidi civitatem sanctam Jerusalem novam, descendentem de cœlo a Deo paratam ; sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo. Et audivi vocem magnam de throno dicentem, ecce tabernaculum Dei cum hominibus, et Spiritus sanctus habitabit cum eis. Et ipsi populus ejus erunt : et ipse Deus cum eis erit eorum Deus. Et absterget Deus omnem lacrymam ab oculis eorum, et mors ultra non erit, neque luctus, neque clamor, neque dolor erit ultra, quæ prima abierunt. Et dixit qui sedebat in throno, ecce nova facio omnia.

Graduale.

Locus iste a Deo factus est inæstimabile sacramentum : irreprehensibilis est.

Vers. Deus cui astat angelorum chorus, exaudi preces servorum tuorum.

Vers. Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, et confitebor nomini tuo.

Per octavas nisi in dominicis dicatur hoc. Alleluia.

Vers. O quam metuendus et venerandus est locus

iste; vere non est hic aliud nisi domus Dei et porta cœli. Alleluia.

Vers. Fundata est domus Domini super verticem montium, et exaltata est super omnes colles.

Ista sequentia dicatur, licet in quadragesima hoc festum contigerit.

Sequentia.

Jerusalem et Sion filiæ cœtus omnis fidei curiæ, melos pangat jugis lætitiæ. Alleluia. Christus enim desponsat hodie, matrem nostram norma justitiæ, quam de lacu traxit miseriæ, ecclesiam. In Spiritus sancti clementia, sponsa sponsi lætatur gratia, reginis laudis cum gloria, felix dicta. Dos ut datur crescit lætitia, quæ dos, quanta, triplex potentia, tangens cœlum, terras, et stygia, justitia. Mira loquor sed sàna credere, fœderatam tam largo munere, de proprio produxit latere, Deus homo. Formaretur ut sic ecclesia, figuravit in pari gloria, Adæ costis formata femina, hostis Eva. Eva fuit noverca posteris, hæc est mater electi generis, vitæ portus, asylum miseris, et tutela. Pulchra, potens, partu mirabilis, ut luna, sol fulget spectabilis, plus acie multo terribilis ordinata. Multiplex est singularis, una generalis et individua, omnis ævi sexus simul una parit turmas. Hæc signata Jordanis fluctibus, hæc quæ venit e terræ finibus, scientiam audire cominus Salomonis. Sic typicis descripta sensibus, nuptiarum induta vestibus, cœli præstet hodie civibus, Christo juncta. O solennis festum lætitiæ, quo unitur Christus ecclesiæ, in qua nostræ salutis nuptiæ celebrantur. Cœtus felix, dulce convivium, lapsis ibi datur solatium, desperatis offertur spatium respirandi. Justis inde solvuntur præmia, angelorum novantur gaudia, lata nimis quod facit gratia caritatis.

Ab æterno fons sapientiæ, intuitu solius gratiæ, sic prævidit in rerum serie, hæc futura. Christus ergo nos suis nuptiis, recreatos veris divitiis, interesse faciat sociis electorum.

Infra septuagesimam usque ad caput jejunii, in octava die tantum hujus festi, dicatur tractus.

Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum: concupiscit et deficit anima mea in atria Domini.

Vers. Cor meum et caro mea exultaverunt in Deum vivum.

Vers. Etenim passer invenit sibi domum, et turtur nidum sibi, ubi reponat pullos suos.

Vers. Altaria tua, Domine virtutum, rex meus et Deus meus.

Vers. Beati qui habitant in domo tua, in æternum laudabunt te, Domine.

Si in tempore paschali evenerit, secundum Alleluia *erit de resurrectione quotidie per octavas, et in octavis et in prima die. Secundum Lucam.*

In illo tempore. Egressus Jesus perambulabat Jericho. Et ecce vir nomine Zachæus, et hic erat princeps publicanorum, et ipse dives. Et quærebat videre Jesum quis esset, et non poterat præ turba, quia statura pusillus erat. Et præcurrens ascendit in arborem sycamorum ut videret illum; quia inde erat transiturus. Et cum venisset ad locum, suspiciens Jesus vidit illum, et dixit ad eum, Zachæe festinans descende, quia hodie in domo tua oportet me manere. Et festinans descendit, et excepit eum gaudens. Et cum viderent omnes, murmurabant dicentes quod ad hominem peccatorem divertisset. Stans autem Zachæus dixit ad Dominum, ecce dimidium bonorum meorum Domine do pauperibus, et si quid aliquem defraudavi reddo quadruplum.

Ait ad eum Jesus, quia hodie huic domui salus facta est, eo quod et ipse filius sit Abrahæ. Venit enim filius hominis quærere, et salvum facere quod perierat.

Offertorium.

Domine Deus, in simplicitate cordis mei lætus obtuli universa, et populus tuus qui repertus est vidit cum ingenti gaudio. Deus Israel custodi hanc voluntatem.

Secretum.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, ecclesiam tuam et altare hoc nomini tuo dicatum, cœlesti virtute et benedictione sanctifica, et omnibus in te sperantibus auxilii tui munus ostende, ut hic et sacramentorum virtus, et votorum obtineatur effectus. Per dominum.

Communio.

Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, dicit Dominus, in ea omnis qui petit accipit, et qui quærit invenit, et pulsanti aperietur.

Postcommunio.

Quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut hoc loco quem nomini tuo indigni dedicavimus, cunctis petentibus aures tuæ pietatis accommodes. Per Dominum.

De Benedictione Coemeterii.

De Benedictione Coemeterii.

INCIPIT ordo[1] *qualiter cœmeterium sit dedicandum: ad cujus dedicationem faciendam plura sunt necessaria, videlicet, quatuor cruces*[2] *in quatuor angulis cœmeterii, in quibus duodecim*

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[1] The Lansdown MS. 451 in the British museum is an imperfect pontifical of the English church which contains, with one or two unimportant variations, the same office of the consecration of a churchyard as in the text. But the first rubric, according to a transcript before me, is short, merely directing: "In consecratione cœmeterii, veniat episcopus indutus amictu, alba, stola, et cappa, cum mitra et baculo, ad locum areæ dedicandæ, et prostratus super faldistorium, dicat litaniam, et inter cætera, dicat episcopus hunc versum. 'Ut hoc cœmeterium, bene ✠ dicere, et sancti✠ficare, digneris.' Chorus, resp. 'Amen.' Finita litania, episcopus stando in introitu," &c.

[2] "Die præcedenti ponuntur in cœmeterio quinque ligneæ cruces: videlicet una altior in medio, et quatuor aliæ, quælibet ad staturam hominis, quarum una in extremitate cœmeterii," &c. Rubr. *Pontif. Rom.* It does not seem that this ceremony of fixing four or five crosses in the churchyard to be consecrated is very ancient; it can be traced up to the twelfth or eleventh century, but before that time there is much difficulty. On the contrary, the placing of a cross by the head of graves, either in or out of churchyards, is of high antiquity.

Catalani cites from the *Acta sanctorum* a passage from the life of St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, of no little importance as regards burying out of churchyards: "Sanctus signifer Dominici vexilli, ut ipse agere consuevit, constituit ad caput cujuslibet Christiani extra cœmeterium sepulti crucem figere, quia in regione ad fidem noviter conversa, præ paucitate ecclesiarum noverat omnes defunctos in cœmeteriis funerandos non fore." And the reason presently is added: "Voluit etiam optimus pastor tam felici charactere oves ab hædis, sepultos scilicet Christianos a paganis distinguere: sic pro-

cerei vel candelæ in superiore parte crucis infigantur :[3] *vas plenum aqua, infra introitum cœmeterii, ubi episcopus faciet exorcismum : deinde vasa plena aqua in quatuor angulis cœmeterii si necesse fuerit, et cætera alia vasa, convenientia ad sacrandam et ad deferendam aquam. Duo majores cerei ac candelabra, ysopus quantum duo pugilli possunt capere, vinum, sal, cinis. Adsit etiam et tentorium extra cœmeterium, in quo possit episcopus cum ministris suis vestimentis sacris*

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fecto Christicolæ venientes, viso vitæ signo, funeratum fuisse famulum fidei, crucis Christi signo valerent agnoscere, atque pro ejus anima non cunctarentur cunctorum conditori preces offerre." *In Pontif. Rom.* tom 2. p. 209. This account is given by the Bollandists from the life of St. Patrick written by Joscelin, a monk of Furnes; who further relates a marvellous legend of St. Patrick removing a cross from the grave of a pagan, at whose head it had been placed by mistake, being informed by the voice of the dead man himself issuing from the grave.

There are many proofs, says Catalani, that before the eleventh century a cross was always placed in the middle of churchyards; and this, not only for other reasons which will readily occur to the reader, but also, by reminding people of the reverence due to such holy places, that games and unbecoming practices of all kinds might be prevented.

[3] The early pontificals differ as to the number of the candles: some appoint fifteen; as, for example, the pontifical of archbishop Egbert, which seems to have been a custom observed "secundum quosdam" by some archbishops of that see down to the reformation. See Bainbridge's pontifical, p. 87. A noteworthy instance of a traditional ceremony lasting for seven hundred years. The mystical signification is given by a writer of the thirteenth century, quoted by Catalani: "accenduntur candelæ, in quibus intelligitur fidei charitas;" tom. 2. p. 211. The same very learned writer enters at great length into an examination of the celebrated decree of the Illiberitan council, which forbad lights to be placed in churchyards; and explains that it was of only local obligation, in consequence of many abuses which had followed the practice of praying at night by the graves of the dead. This practice also is forbidden to women by the same council.

se induere, cum quibus divinum ministerium adimplere debet. Quibus omnibus paratis, pontifex cœmeterium dedicaturus intret tentorium, et induat se amictu, alba, stola, et fanone, pluviali, et capa de bokeram, et simplici mitra, et baculo sine manipulo, et sine sandaliis, tunicis, et dalmaticis: et ministri se induant amictu, alba, stola, et fanone: unus subdiaconus, qui consimile habebit vestimentum præter stolam, unus thurifer, duo ceroferarii, unus crucifer, qui omnes albis sint induti: et dum pontifex sic in tentorio se induit, dicat psalmos in dedicatione ecclesiæ, cum precibus: et oratione, Actiones nostras.

Item alia oratio.

Deus, qui nos pastores in populo vocari voluisti, præsta, quæsumus, ut hoc quod humano ore dicimur, in tuis oculis esse valeamus: per Christum.

Post hæc veniat episcopus infra introitum cœmeterii, et ibidem prostratus super faldistorium dicat litaniam ut supra, pontifice cum aliqua persona reverenda litaniam canente secreto. Et cum ventum fuerit ad versum qui pro domino episcopo cantatur, surgat episcopus, et dicat stando, respiciens ad quatuor partes cœmeterii.

Ut cœmeterium istud bene✠dicere digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut cœmeterium istud bene✠dicere, et sancti✠ficare digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Ut cœmeterium istud bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, et conse✠crare digneris.

Te rogamus audi nos.

Finita litania, episcopus stando in introitu loci sacrandi, conversus ad occidentem, faciat exorcismum salis et aquæ cum cinere et vino, incipiendo ter:

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

Resp. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina.

Cum Gloria. *Sine* Alleluia.

Sequitur exorcismus salis ibidem.

Exorcizo te, creatura salis, in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui apostolis suis, &c.

Resp. Amen.

Benedictio salis.

Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, bene✠dic hanc creaturam salis, &c.

Resp. Amen.

Exorcismus aquæ.

Exorcizo te, creatura aquæ, in nomine Dei Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, ut repellas diabolum, &c.

Benedictio aquæ.

Domine Deus, Pater, &c.

Benedictio cineris.

Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, parce metuentibus, &c.

Tunc misceantur sal et cinis, et episcopus ter faciat crucem super aquam, dicens:

Hæc commixtio salis et cineris cum aqua benedicta, sit sancti✠ficata ad consecrationem hujus cœmeterii. In nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ sancti. Amen.

Sequitur oratio.

Deus, invictæ virtutis, &c.

Benedictio vini.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui es vitis vera.

Deinde ponat vinum in aquam, dicens. Fiat commixtio.

Sequitur præfatio.

Deum Patrem.

Benedictio aquæ cum vino mixtæ.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus.

Tunc episcopus ter circumeat cœmeterium, spargens aquam benedictam, incipiendo primo in remotiori parte a parte sinistra, incipiens qualibet vice ab occidente per boream ad partem orientalem, usquedum redeat per sinistram in occidentalem, ad locum quo inceperit: secundo in medio: tertio juxta ecclesiam, choro interim canente:

Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.

Psalmus. Miserere mei Deus.

Totus psalmus dicatur, sine Gloria Patri.

Et repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum psalmi, si necesse fuerit. Expleto tertio circuitu, veniens episcopus ad locum primum ubi litaniam dixerit, ibidem dicat hanc orationem.

Benedicere digneris Domine Deus, omnipotens, piissime, et misericordissime consolator vivorum simul et mortuorum, in te credentium, hujus terræ locellum tibi Domino Deo dedicandum, ut sit cœmeterium, hoc est dulcis quies, et dormitio corporum fidelium Christianorum inibi quiescentium, et animæ eorum quorum hic sepelienda sunt corpora resurrectura, quandoque spiritualia æternæ beatitudinis partem, et cum sanctis omnibus societatem habere mereantur. Per dominum.

Deinde episcopus incipiat antiphonam: chorus prosequatur.

Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt, et vivent nomina eorum in æternum.

Vers. Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi; hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam.

Interim vadat ad partem aquilonis, et stans versa

facie ad locum sacrandum versus orientem, dicat hanc orationem ibidem sine, Dominus vobiscum. *Sed tantum cum*, Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio.

Deus qui es totius orbis conditor, et humani generis redemptor, cunctarumque creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium perfectus dispositor, te supplici voce ac puro corde exposcimus, ut hoc cœmeterium sive polyandrum, in quo famulorum famularumque tuarum corpora requiescere debent, post curricula hujus vitæ labentia, sancti✠ficare, pur✠gare, atque bene✠dicere digneris: quique peccatorum remissionem per tuam magnam misericordiam in te fidentibus præstitisti, corporibus quoque in hoc cœmeterio quiescentibus, et tubam primi archangeli hic expectantibus, consolationem perpetuam largiter impertire. Qui vivis.

Eundo ad orientem, dicatur a choro antiphona.

Exurgat Deus ad nostri famulatus obsequium, et in loco sancto ejus fiat benedictionis augmentum.

Psalmus. Ipsum.

Postea dicat diaconus.

Kyrie eleyson.

Christe eleyson.

Kyrie eleyson.

Deinde dicat episcopus:

Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Levate.

In oriente ibidem stando versa facie ad meridiem, dicat hanc orationem.

Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, trina majestas et una deitas, Pater, et Filius, necnon et Spiritus sanctus, justitiæ auctor, veniæ largitor, bonorum

dator, sanctitatis origo, charismatum distributor, omniumque venientium ad te pius receptor: præsta propitius, ut hoc cœmeterium in honore sancti nominis tui compositum bene✠dicere et santi✠ficare digneris, qui Abrahæ beato patriarchæ et famulo tuo terram a filiis Ephron comparatam causa sepulturæ benedixisti; et qui populo Israelitico promissionis tellurem in ævo durantem concessisti, famulorum famularumque tuarum corporibus in hoc cœmeterio quiescentibus, quæsumus, ut quietis sedem, et ab omni incursione malorum spirituum tutam benignus largitor tribuas; ut post animarum corporumque resurrectionem coadunatam, te donante atque concedente, beatitudinem sempiternam percipere mereantur. Per dominum nostrum.

Eundo ad meridiem, chorus cantet hanc antiphonam.

Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi, in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur.

Psalmus. Ipsum.

Postea dicat diaconus. Kyrie eleyson.

Chorus. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Episcopus dicat, Oremus.

Diaconus sic: Flectamus genua. Levate.

In meridie ibidem stando versa facie ad australem, dicat episcopus hanc orationem.

Domine Deus, pastor æternæ gloriæ, lux et honor sapientiæ, custos et vigor prudentiæ, salus ægrotantium, valitudo potentium, mœstorum solamen, vita justorum, gloria humilium; te, Domine, flagitamus, ut hoc cœmeterium servorum tuorum ab omni inquinamento spurcitiæ spirituum immundorum custodire, mundare, et bene✠dicere digneris, atque corporibus humanis hoc in loco sepeliendis since-

ritatem perpetuam tribuere non desinas; ut quicumque baptismi gratiam perceperint, et in fide catholica usque ad vitæ terminum perseverantes fuerint, atque decurso hujus ævi termino, corpora sua in hoc cœmeterio commendaverint, angelicis tubis concrepantibus, cum materia corporis et animæ, præmia cœlestium gaudiorum sempiterna percipiant. Per dominum.

Eundo ad australem, chorus cantet hanc antiphonam.

Deus in sancto via tua. Quis deus magnus sicut Deus noster? Tu es Deus, qui facis mirabilia solus.

Psalmus. Viderunt te aquæ.

Postea dicat diaconus. Kyrie eleyson.

Christe eleyson.

Kyrie eleyson.

Episcopus. Oremus.

Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Levate.

Ibidem stando in australi parte conversus ad occidentem, dicat hanc orationem.

Omnipotens Deus, qui es custos animarum et tutela salutis, fides credentium, respice propitius ad nostræ servitutis officium; ut ad introitum nostrum bene✠dicere, conse✠crare, et sancti✠ficare hoc cœmeterium digneris, quatenus humana corpora hic post vitæ cursum pausantia, in magna die judicii simul cum felice anima mereantur adipisci vitæ perennis gaudia. Per dominum.

Postea episcopus circumeat cum incenso eodem modo quo asperserit aquam, choro interim canente antiphonam.

Domine ad te dirigatur oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu majestatis tuæ.

Psalmus. Domine clamavi.

Totus psalmus dicatur si necesse fuerit, et repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum. Quo peracto, dicat episcopus hanc orationem in medio cœmeterii vel polyandri, verso vultu ad orientem, cum,

Dominus vobiscum, *et* Oremus.

Oratio.

Adesto, Domine Deus, officio nostro hunc locum visitanti, et nostræ fragilitatis ministerio; et sicut benedixisti per manus patrum nostrorum Abrahæ et Isaac et Jacob terram sepulturæ, et postmodum pro nostræ salutis remedio traditus, flagellatus, tandemque cruci affixus, per te ipsum, Joseph divinitus præparante, terrenum sanctificasti sepulchrum, ita hoc cœmeterium bene✠dicere, consecrare, et ab invisibilium machinamentis hostium roborare digneris; quo omnes quorum quarumcumque post laborem vitæ hic corpora pausaverint, perpetuæ felicitatis præmia consequantur; per te, salvator mundi, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Tunc elevata manu benedicat episcopus cœmeterium, ex quatuor partibus, et versa facie ad orientem dicat hanc orationem.

Deus qui es judex vivorum sive mortuorum, bene✠dictionis tuæ sanctificationem nostræ devotionis officio super cœmeterium istud multiplica, et animæ cunctorum fidelium quorum sub tuo patrocinio in eo sepelienda sunt corpora, non afficiantur terroribus pœnæ infernalis, sed potius cum sanctis omnibus socientur tecum cœlestibus gaudiis, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivis et gloriaris Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Tunc eundo ad ecclesiam dicat psalmum. De profundis. *Cum versu et oratione.* Fidelium.

Sequitur missa.[4] Requiem æternam.

Psalmus. Te decet.

Oratio.

Deus, cujus miseratione animæ fidelium requiescunt, huic cœmeterio angelum tuum deputes custodem; et da propitius ut omnium, quorum hic corpora sepelientur, animæ absolutæ ab omni dolore sine fine lætentur. Per dominum.

Epistola. Nolumus vos.

Graduale. Requiem æternam.

Tractus. De profundis.

Evangelium. Sicut Pater.

Offertorium. O pie Deus, qui.

Secretum. Munera, Domine, oblata sanctifica, et

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[4] The pontifical of archbishop Egbert supplies a mass to be said "in cœmeterio" (that is we must conclude) at any time when there was occasion or some fitting opportunity. We do not know whether this practice was allowed after the Anglo-saxon times.

"*Oratio.* Deus, cujus miseratione animæ fidelium requiescunt, animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum, vel omnibus in hoc cœmeterio quiescentibus, da propitius veniam peccatorum, ut a cunctis reatibus absolute sine fine lætentur. Per.

"*Alia.* Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, annue quæsumus precibus nostris ea quæ poscimus, et dona omnibus quorum hic corpora requiescunt refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, luminis claritatem, ut qui peccatorum suorum pondere prægravantur, eos supplicatio commendet ecclesiæ. Per.

"*Secreta.* Pro animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium hic dormientium, hostiam, Domine, suscipe benignus oblatam, ut hoc sacrificio singulari vinculis horrendæ mortis exutæ vitam mereantur æternam. Per.

"*Post communionem.* Deus, fidelium lumen animarum, adesto supplicationibus nostris, et da omnibus quorum corpora hic requiescunt refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, luminis claritatem. Per." *Edit. Surtees society*, p. 56.

qui te ipsum in sepulchro poni voluisti, per hæc nos quæsumus ad finem vitæ properantes, a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emundemur. Per dominum nostrum.

Benedictio episcopalis.

Copiam, quæsumus, Domine, tuæ benedictionis populo hic adunato tribue; temptationum procellas ab eo miseratus exclude. Amen.

Mala cuncta arce, bona tribue, noxia subtrahe, prospera concede, ut in laude tua in præsentis ævi stadio currentes placere tibi valeant, in futuro gaudentes. Amen.

Sic, Domine quæsumus, in hoc polyandro seu cœmeterio requiescentium corpora fidelium tuæ virtutis clypeo protege, et brachio tuæ defensionis robora, quatenus in novissimo tubæ clangore a cunctis peccatorum nexibus exuti, et æternæ vitæ gaudiis restituti, resurgant in parte dextera coronandi. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur, qui est vera resurrectio mortuorum, cui est cum æterno Patre sanctoque Flamine laus et perpetuitas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Benedictio Dei omnipotentis.

Communio. Lux æterna.

Postcommunio.

Muneribus sacris satiati quæsumus, Domine Deus noster, ut plebs tua, quæ in futuro a morte corporis resurrectura creditur, te miserante, in hujus vitæ cursu a morte animæ resurgere mereatur. Per dominum.

Reconciliatio Ecclesiae pollutae, sive Coemeterii.

Reconciliatio Ecclesiae vel Coemeterii.

IN reconciliatione ecclesiæ,[1] *sive cæmeterii, vel alterius loci sacri, ubi sanguis fuerit effusus, aut homicidium factum, aut aliqua spurcitia publice perpetrata.*

Primo ordinentur vasa cum aqua, et cætera vasa convenientia ad deferendam aquam, sal, cinis, vinum: et induat se extra ut supra in dedicatione cæmeterii, dicendo psalmos qui in consecratione ecclesiæ intitulantur, cum precibus et oratione:

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[1] Both the Bangor and the Exeter pontificals contain this office, with few and not important variations; some of which I shall notice.

The first rubric of the Bangor MS. begins as in the text; it is much defaced and rubbed. After the word "perpetrata" it continues: "Primo ante omnia nocte præcedente reconciliationem ecclesiæ vel altaris, asportentur reliquiæ cum cæteris sacris ab ecclesia profanata, et serventur in tentorio tota nocte cum vigiliis et excubiis dignis. Sed si cœmeterium sit tantum profanatum, nihil propter hoc ab ecclesia asportetur. Ipsa autem die reconciliationis, primo veniat episcopus ante ipsam ecclesiam, cum clero et populo ant. canendo sonora voce, 'Deus in sancto.'"

The Exeter MS. begins: "In reconciliatione ecclesiæ seu cœmeterii fiat tentorium honestum extra cœmeterium, si ecclesia fuerit polluta, a parte occidentali: si vero cœmeterium fuerit pollutum, paret se episcopus infra ecclesiam pontificalibus: et pro reconciliatione ecclesiæ præparentur sal, aqua, cineres, vinum, ysopus, scopa ad spargendum aquam. Episcopo vero induto pontificalibus, sicut in dedicationibus ecclesiarum solet indui, et egrediente de tentorio, cantetur a choro antiphona: 'Deus in sancto.'"

Deus, qui paterna, &c.[2]

Post hæc veniat episcopus cum baculo pastorali, ornatus amictu, alba, stola, pluviali, et capa de bisso, i.e. bokeram, et mitra simplici, et baculo sine manipulo.

In eundo versus ecclesiam vel cœmeterium cantatur hæc antiphona:

Deus in sancto via tua; quis Deus magnus sicut Deus noster? tu es Deus qui facis mirabilia solus.

Psalmus: Viderunt te aquæ.

Et ante ipsam ecclesiam veniens, vel cœmeterium, deposita mitra, dicat episcopus hanc orationem.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui sacerdotibus tuis præ cæteris tantam gratiam contulisti, ut quicquid in tuo nomine digne perfecteque ab eis agitur, a te fieri creditur, quæsumus immensam clementiam tuam, ut quod modo visitaturi sumus visites, et quicquid benedicturi sumus bene✠dicas, sitque ad nostræ humilitatis introitum, sanctorum tuorum meritis, fuga dæmonum, angeli pacis ingressus, per Christum.

Oratio.

Aufer a nobis, Domine quæsumus, omnes iniquitates nostras, ut ad loca nomini tuo purificanda puris mereamur mentibus accedere, per dominum nostrum.

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[2] The reconciliation of a church was an office always to be performed by a bishop; no less than that of consecration. Some have supposed that by a delegated authority from the diocesan a priest might reconcile; but the decision is undoubtedly in the negative, because reconciliation is a matter (so to speak) of order and not of jurisdiction. No function which is proper to a bishop, as bishop, can be delegated to one of lower rank and dignity.

Tunc intret episcopus ecclesiam, si sit reconcilianda, vel cœmeterium, choro canente hanc antiphonam: Pax huic domui, *vel* loco,[3] et omnibus habitantibus in ea, *vel* eo, pax ingredientibus et egredientibus. Alleluia.

Et veniens coram cruce in ecclesia, vel infra cœmeterium in occidente, accumbat ibi super faldistorium, dum dicitur litania,[4] *ut supra in ordinibus.*

Et cum ventum fuerit ad versum, qui pro domino episcopo cantatur, surgat episcopus, et dicat:

Ut ecclesiam istam *vel*[5] cœmeterium istud reconciliare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut ecclesiam istam *vel* cœmeterium istud reconciliare et mundare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Ut ecclesiam istam *vel* cœmeterium istud reconciliare, mundare, et sanctificare digneris.

Te rogamus.

Interim prosternat se episcopus, et cantores per-

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[3] "Si solum cœmeterium sit reconciliandum, omittenda est illa antiphona, 'Pax' cum psalmo." Rubr. *Pontif. Exon.* The Bangor MS. does not state this, but evidently contemplates that the antiphon should be said only at the reconciliation of a church.

[4] The Bangor pontifical does not direct the litany; which is a very unusual omission. As a most appropriate part of an office of reconciliation, almost every pontifical, up to the earliest date, orders it to be said.

[5] The petition in the Roman pontifical is "ut hanc ecclesiam ac cœmeterium purgare," &c.; a variation scarcely worth remark, except for the rubric which follows; in which we find the ancient rule distinctly laid down that the desecration of a church does not necessarily involve the desecration of the churchyard. It is scarcely to be supposed that the church would be polluted by the desecration of the churchyard outside. "*Si autem cœmeterium non sit pollutum, et sic neque reconciliandum, non fit de cœmeterio mentio.*" Rubr. *Rom. pontif.*

cantent litaniam usque in finem. Qua finita, surgat episcopus, ibidem deposita mitra, et dicat:

Oremus.

Diaconus. Flectamus genua. Levate.

Oratio:

Deus, qui peccati veteris hæreditariam mortem, in qua posteritatis genus omne successerat, Christi, Filii tui, domini nostri passione solvisti, dona propitius, ut conformes ejusdem facti, sicut imaginem terreni parentis naturæ necessitate portavimus, ita imaginem cœlestis gratiæ sanctificatione portemus ejusdem Christi domini nostri. Qui tecum vivit.

Postea dicat episcopus ter:

Deus in adjutorium meum intende.

Chorus respondeat sic:

Domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Gloria Patri *et* Sicut erat, *sine* Alleluia.

Postea fiat benedictio salis, aquæ, cinerum, et vini. Finita benedictione, si ecclesia sit, circumeat episcopus tribus vicibus intrinsecus, ter spargendo aquam benedictam cum sale, cinere, et vino primo per pavimentum: secundo in medio; tertio, in summitate parietis, ut supra in dedicatione ecclesiæ, ac præcipue in loco contaminato, incipiens qualibet vice ab occidente per boream ad partem orientalem, usque dum redeat per sinistram in occidentem, ad locum quo inceperit. Eodem modo fiat extrinsecus. Si fuerit cœmeterium, primo de remotiori parte, secundo in medio, tertio juxta ecclesiam circumeundo, et maxime in loco delicti, spargat aquam benedictam. Interim cantetur hæc antiphona a choro.

Antiphona.

Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo et mundabor: lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.

Psalmus. Miserere mei Deus. *Et dicatur sine,* Gloria Patri.

Et post unumquemque versum repetatur antiphona, Asperges me.

Deinde rediens ad locum primum ubi litaniam dixerit, dicat istam orationem, sine Oremus.

Oratio.

Deum indultorem criminum, Deum sordium mundatorem, Deum qui concretum originalibus peccatis mundum adventus sui nitore purificavit, supplices deprecemur, ut contra diaboli furentis insidias fortis nobis pugnator assistat, et quicquid ejus virosa calliditate quotidianisque infestationibus maculatum hic corruptumque fuerit, efficiatur cœlesti sanctificatione ac mundatione purgatum; quia sicut illius est solidum perfectumque quassare, ita auctoris nostri est lapsa restaurare et corrupta purgare; cujus majestatem precamur, ut hic locus fiat ab omni pollutione purgatus, et sanctificatus, atque in priorem statum restitutus, et reconciliatus, ac sacratus: *terminando submisse,* per eum, qui in Trinitate perfecta vivit, et gloriatur, Deus: per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Cujus bonitas[6] nec principium nec finem habet, cujus est polluta

[6] The proper preface appointed in the Bangor and Exeter pontificals is different from this, and much longer: and both those

purgare, neglecta restaurare, ædificia reædificare: exaudi orationes nostras, ut hujus loci receptaculum placatus accipias: et altare tuum *vel* ecclesiam tuam, *vel* cœmeterium tuum, quod infestantis diaboli fraude est pollutum, per infusionem gratiæ cœlestis sancti✠fices, puri✠fices, purificatumque possideas. Nihil hic, quæsumus Domine, postmodum noceat præteriti culpa contagii, nihil sit quod maneat inimici fraude pollutum. Resurgat vero hujus loci pura simplicitas, et candor innocentiæ pristinæ immaculatus, et dum recipit gratiam, revertatur ad gloriam. Quatenus hic populorum turba conveniens, dum petitionis ingerit vota, votorum se sentiat obtinuisse suffragia: *Terminando secrete*, Per dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti, Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Resp. Amen.

Postea circumeat episcopus ecclesiam intrinsecus ter cum incenso, eodem modo incensando quo asperserit aquam, incipiens qualibet vice ab occidente per boream ad partem orientalem, usque dum redeat per sinistram in occidentem ad locum ubi inceperit. Si fuerit cœmeterium, ter circumeat episcopus cum incenso, primo in remotiori parte, secundo in media, tertio juxta ecclesiam et maxime in loco delicti.

Interim cantetur hæc antiphona a choro:

Exurgat Deus, ad nostri famulatus obsequium, et in loco sancto ejus fiat benedictionis augmentum.

Psalmus. Exurgat Deus.

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manuscripts agree in saying "Cujus bonitas," &c., not as a preface but as a prayer; the Bangor after and the Exeter before the preface.

The pontificals vary also in their arrangement of the prayers which succeed.

Totus psalmus dicatur, et repetatur antiphona post unumquemque versum psalmi, si necesse fuerit.

His peractis, eat episcopus ad primum locum, et ibidem stando dicat hanc orationem:

Deus qui in sanctis habitans, supernæ moderamine pietatis, terram mundus mundam formasti, quam etiam primi prævaricatoris de supernis ejecti sedibus suggestione maculatam priscis misertus paradisi quos creasti accolis, pii effusione cruoris ac proprii ab omni antiquæ prævaricationis contagio mundare et abstergere dignatus es: quæsumus immensam pietatem tuam, ut hanc ecclesiam, *vel*, ut hoc cœmeterium, quod, *vel*, quam, prius tua sanctificatione sanctificare voluisti, quamvis jam ejusdem nævo[7] prævaricatoris maculatam, tua cœlesti bene✠dictione bene✠dicas: ut qui sub timore et amore tui nominis, ad hoc oratorium pro impetranda suorum venia peccatorum convenerint, *vel*, in hoc cœmeterio sepulti fuerint, se in perpetuum omnium veniam peccatorum impetrare gaudeant, et gaudia percipere sempiterna lætentur. Per dominum.[8]

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[7] "Novo insultu;" the pontificals of bishop Lacy and of archbishop Bainbridge.

[8] The Bangor pontifical appoints various ceremonies here, which the other manuscripts do not notice; nor are they ordered in the York pontifical of archbishop Bainbridge:—

"*Tunc elevata manu benedicat sanctam ecclesiam, vel sanctum cœmeterium.*

"Benedictio Dei, &c.

"*Deinde reportentur reliquiæ ad ecclesiam psallendo antiphonam:*

"Sanctum est verum lumen.

"*Deinde eat pontifex cum clero et populo ad eum locum in quo reliquiæ nocte præterita cum vigiliis fuerint: et dicat in introitu tentorii hanc orationem:*

"Aufer a nobis, Domine quæsumus, iniquitates nostras, ut in sancta sanctorum puris mentibus mereamur introire. Per.

"*Post ingressum autem tentorii, clerus cantet ibi, ant.*

"O quam gloriosum.

"*Finita ant. sequitur oratio:*

"Fac, quæsumus Domine, nos

Deinde eat pontifex in ecclesiam, et ibidem cantetur hæc antiphona, licet cœmeterium tantum sit reconciliatum.

Confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis, a templo sancto tuo quod est in Jerusalem.

Psalmus. Narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis: in medio ecclesiæ laudabo te.

Qui timetis Dominum, laudate eum: universum semen Jacob glorificate eum.

Timeat eum omne semen Israel: quoniam non sprevit neque despexit deprecationem pauperis.

Nec avertit faciem suam a me: et cum clamarem ad eum exaudivit me.

Gloria Patri.

Repetatur antiphona.

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sanctorum tuorum specialiter dicata membra contingere, quorum cupimus patrocinia incessanter habere. Per.

"*Tunc leventur reliquiæ cum honore et laudibus; cum cruce, thuribulis, et luminaribus: et exeant omnes canendo antiphonam:*

"Cum jocunditate exibitis.

"*Donec perveniant ad ostium. Hic ante ingressum ecclesiæ habeat pontifex ad ostium, facto silentio, verbum ad plebem, de honore ecclesiastico, de decimis, et oblationibus ecclesiarum: ac de ipsius ecclesiæ reconciliatione. Ipse autem dominus et constructor ipsius ecclesiæ admoneatur de dote illius, et qualem honorem ecclesiæ et presbyteris debeat exhibere. Illo autem profitente se jussa pontificis impleturum, dicat pontifex præ foribus hanc orationem, signans ostium, et ecclesiam:*

"Domum tuam, quæsumus Domine, clementer ingredere: et in tuorum cordibus fidelium perpetuam construe mansionem: et præsta, ut domus hæc quæ tua subsistit reconciliatione solemnis, tua fiat habitatione sublimis. Per."

A certain number of antiphons are then appointed to be sung, until the procession reaches the altar; where the relics are directed to be again deposited by the bishop, with the usual prayers. Then succeeds the prayer "Deus, qui ecclesiam;" followed by another (the preface repeated), "Deus, cujus bonitas," with which the office in that manuscript concludes.

Oremus.

Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam de omnibus mundi finibus congregatam, per tui lateris admirabile sacramentum[9] cunctarum gentium matrem esse dixisti, quam etiam populorum varietate depictam martyrum tuorum meritis decorasti : benedic ✠, Domine quæsumus, sanctorum tuorum opitulante suffragio, tam altare quod eorum exornatur, te juvante, reliquiis, quam ecclesiam, atque fidelium tuorum vota offerentium sanctifica : qui vivis.

Sequitur benedictio elevata manu, per longum et latum loci, dicens:

Benedictio Dei ✠ Patris omnipotentis, ingeniti Filiique ✠ ipsius unigeniti, necnon sancti ✠ Spiritus Paracliti ab utroque procedentis, maneat jugiter super ecclesiam istam, *vel*, cœmeterium istud, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Postea dicat episcopus missam de reconciliatione. Si cœmeterium sit, dicatur missa:

Requiem æternam.

Si ecclesia sit, dicatur hæc missa.

Officium.

Dum sanctificatus fuero in vobis, congregabo vos de universis terris, et effundam super vos aquam

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[9] The great truth to which this ancient prayer testifies in these words is well explained by Catalani: "In hac oratione animadvertendum est ecclesiam de latere Jesu Christi fluxisse dici quidem a sacris theologis passim, non proprie, sed symbolice ac meritorie. Symbolice quidem, quia ex latere Christi fluxerunt aqua et sanguis, quæ erant signa vel symbola significantia baptismum et eucharistiam, præcipua ecclesiæ sacramenta. Meritorie vero, quia sacramenta baptismi et eucharistiæ omnem vim suam habent ex merito passionis et mortis Christi." *Comment.* tom. 3. p. 340.

mundam, et mundabimini ab omnibus inquinamentis vestris, et dabo vobis spiritum novum.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Psalmus.

Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore: semper laus ejus in ore meo.

Oratio.

Deus, qui dixisti, domus mea domus orationis vocabitur, domum istam alienis offensionibus contaminatam mundare et sanctificare digneris, ut omnium preces et vota in hoc loco ad te clamantium clementer exaudias, et benigne perficias: per dominum.

Epistola.

Ecce ego Johannes.

Resp. in dedicatione ecclesiæ.

Graduale. Tollite hostias et introite in atria ejus: adorate Dominum in aula sancta ejus.

Versus. Revelavit Dominus condensa, et in templo ejus omnes dicent gloriam. Alleluia.

Versus. Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, et confitebor nomini tuo.

Si infra septuagesimam evenerit, dicatur tractus.

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, et collaudate eum omnes populi.

Versus.

Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus, et veritas Domini manet in æternum.

Secundum Lucam:

In illo tempore; dixit Jesus discipulis suis, non est arbor bona quæ facit fructus malos.

Offertorium.

Oravi Deum meum ego Daniel dicens, exaudi, Domine, preces servi tui, illumina faciem tuam

super sanctuarium tuum, et propitius intende populum istum super quem invocatum est nomen tuum, Deus.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Secretum.

Hæc hostia, quæsumus Domine, et locum istum ab immunditiis iniquorum vel patratæ offensionis expurget, et supplicationes nostras hic et ubique tibi reddat acceptas. Per Dominum.

Benedictio episcopalis.

Omnipotens Deus universa a nobis et ab hoc templo *vel* cœmeterio adversa excludat; ac suæ super vos benedictionis dona propitiatus infundat. Amen.

Corda convenientium ad hanc reconciliationem efficiat sacris intenta doctrinis, quo possint repleri beneficiis sempiternis. Amen.

Quatenus exequenda intelligentes, et intellecta exequentes, inter adversa mundi ab omni sorde peccatorum purificati inveniamini incolumes, et beatorum spirituum efficiamini in cœlesti regno cohæredes. Amen.

Quod ipse.

Communio.

Acceptabis sacrificium justitiæ, oblationes, et holocausta, super altare tuum, Domine.

In tempore paschali: Alleluia.

Postcommunio.

Percipientes, Domine, munera salutis æternæ, te supplices exoramus, ut templum hoc *vel* cœmeterium a barbarorum *vel* iniquorum inquinamentis emundatum, tua benedictione maneat sanctificatum, et pectora nostra, ab omni sorde vitiorum alienata, tibi devota semper assistant. Per dominum.

Ordo ad Synodum.

Ordo ad Synodum.

ORDO qualiter ab episcopo synodus agatur.

Hora diei prima, ante ortum solis ejiciantur omnes ab ecclesia, obseratisque foribus cunctis, ad unam januam per quam sacerdotes ingredi oportet ostiarii stabunt: et convenientes cardinales[1] *vel alii prælati, sacerdotes pariter cum episcopo introibunt, et secundum ordinis sui tempus residebunt; post hos ingrediantur et diaconi, qui corona facta in conspectu episcopi et sacerdotum stent. Deinde forenses*[2] *ingrediantur presbyteri in ordine suo procul ab aliis stantes, et ut jussi fuerint residentes. Ingrediantur quoque subdiaconi, quod ad recitandum vel excipiendum congruus ordo requirit: obseratis januis, sedentes in diuturno silentio, episcopi, videlicet, et sacerdotes, atque cor totum habentes ad Dominum, dicturus est archidiaconus,* Orate, *et tunc agatur litania, statimque omnes incurventur, tam episcopi quam presbyteri, orantes diutius tacite cum fletibus atque gemitibus. Tunc surgens episcopus, cunctis adhuc incurvatis, hanc orationem palam fundat ad Dominum.*[3]

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[1] The "cardinales chori"? see the statute in the *Monasticon Anglic.* cited by Ducange, *verb.* Cardinalis.

[2] "Presbyteri forenses, nuncupantur ii, qui ex aliena diœcesi vel ecclesia sunt." Ducange, *Gloss.*

[3] The "ordo ad synodum" in the Winchester pontifical differs considerably from that of the Salisbury use. But as it agrees with some few exceptions with that printed by Wilkins in his appendix, vol. 4. p. 784, I shall not be called upon to explain

Adsumus, Domine sancte Spiritus, adsumus quidem peccati immanitate detenti, sed in nomine tuo specialiter aggregati: veni ad nos, esto nobiscum, et dignare illabi cordibus nostris, doce nos quid agamus, quo gradiamur, et ostende quid efficere debeamus, ut te auxiliante tibi in omnibus placere

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the variations; I extract however the first rubric:—

"Qualiter concilium provinciale, prima, secunda, vel tertia die agatur.

"Sancta synodus bis in anno decrevit habere concilia: unum æstate, aliud tempore autumni. Quisquis autem clericorum ad hæc non venerit absque necessitatis causa, anno integro non præsumat missam celebrare. Prima autem die, et secunda, et tertia, hora convenienti quando episcopo vel ejus vicario visum fuerit, omnes sequantur cruces cum litania et ingrediantur synodum, ejectis omnibus ab ecclesia, obseratisque foribus cunctis. Tunc ad unam januam per quam sacerdotes ingredi debeant, ostiarii stent, et sella ponatur in medio: et supra eam sacræ reliquiæ, et plenarium cum stola ponantur. Deinde convenientes omnes presbyteri intersint, et secundum ordinationis suæ tempus resideant. Post hos ingrediantur diaconi probabiles, quos ordo poposcerit interesse. Exinde introducantur laici bonæ conversationis, vel qui electione conjugali interesse meruerint. Tunc ingrediatur episcopus si voluerit, vel necessitas exegerit. Et si non aderit episcopus: ejus vicarius eadem faciat. Tunc diaconus dicat, 'Orate.' Deinde, 'Erigite vos.' Tunc episcopus versus ad orientem dicat, 'Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.'"

In the above rubric there is little doubt that the "plenarium" must mean the book in which were written, at length, the holy gospels, and perhaps also the epistles. An engraving on the first page of the fourth volume of the *Thesaurus anecdotorum* of Martene shows the bishops assembled in synod, and in the middle is a desk on which a large book is placed, widely opened. The practice of having the holy gospels in the midst of a council is very ancient. When the synod met at Rome in the seventh century, under pope Agatho, to consider the case of archbishop Wilfrid, it assembled "in basilica salvatoris nostri, præpositis sacrosanctis evangeliis." Wilkins, vol. 1. p. 45. The relics were brought from neighbouring churches, that by their presence the faith and zeal of those present might be quickened and increased.

valeamus. Esto salus, et suggestor et effector judiciorum nostrorum, qui solus cum Deo Patre et ejus Filio nomen possides gloriosum. Non nos patiaris perturbatores esse justitiæ, qui summam diligis æquitatem, ut in sinistrum nos non ignorantia trahat, non favor inflectat, non acceptio muneris vel personæ corrumpat. Sed junge nos tibi efficaciter solius gratiæ tuæ dono, ut simus in te unum, et in nullo deviemus a vero, quatenus in nomine tuo collecti, sic in cunctis teneamus cum moderatione pietatis justitiam, ut hic a te in nullo dissentiat sententia nostra, et in futuro pro bene gestis consequamur gaudia sempiterna, præstante te, qui solus cum Deo Patre ejusque Filio vivis et regnas, et dominaris Deus, per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Qua oratione finita ab omnibus respondeatur, Amen.

Rursumque dicat archidiaconus, Erigite vos.

Confestim omnes surgant, et ab archidiacono legatur evangelium, Ego sum pastor bonus.

Quo perlecto, cum timore et disciplina tam episcopi quam presbyteri sedeant, diaconus dalmatica indutus codicem canonum in medium proferens, capitula Nicæni concilii perlegat, ubi de fide catholica plenius tractat, qualiter omnes Christicolæ unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in unitate fideliter venerari, corde credere, ore profiteri, et incessanter excolere debeant, versatis aperte depromitur, quomodo Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus veraciter unus sit Deus. Deinde legatur liber officiorum, ut scire valeant quo ordine in ecclesia cuncta peragantur officia. Post hæc autem perquirantur presbyteri qualiter energumenos et aurium apertiones facere vel eosdem baptizare debeant. Quibus expletis, taliter cunctos clericos alloquatur episcopus.

Admonitio.

Precibus itaque Deo præmissis, fraternitatem vestram, dilectissimi filii, cum pia exhortatione admoneo, et per divinum nomen obtestor, ut ea quæ a nobis de Deo, sacris ordinibus, vel sanctis moribus dicta fuerint, cum omni pietate suscipiatis, ut cum summa reverentia perficere studeatis, quatenus superna auxiliante gratia ea quæ ad salutem nostram et Christiani populi nobis commissi pertinere videntur : diligenter et provide tractemus, ne oves domini nostri Jesu Christi nobis commissæ licet indignis ob nostram pereant negligentiam, pro quibus in die judicii rationem reddituri sumus. Deinde simili vos obtestatione conjuro vel obsecro, ut nullus vestrum in judicio fratrem suum aut personam accipiat, aut quolibet favore vel munere pulsatus a justo judicio scienter avertatur aut discedat : sed cum tota pietate fraternæ dilectionis, et cum Dei timore libenter nobiscum adhibeatis studium, quatenus per nostram doctrinam et sacram admonitionem peccata, errores, et pravitates filiorum nostrorum, quæ ante nos vel tempore nostro, instigante diabolo, in civitate ista vel parochiis nostris perpetrata fuerint, Dei auxiliante misericordia, ad correctionis emendationem et bonorum executionem perducere valeamus, et in extremo judicii die non de negligentiis et culpis a Domino, sicut pigri et mali servi judicemur, sed de benefactis ac recte dispositis, præmium æternæ beatitudinis percipere mereamur. Per.

Quibus taliter narratis, perscrutandi et inquirendi sunt cardinales, sacerdotes, et levitæ, necnon et reliqui, videlicet de credulitate Trinitatis et Unitatis, primo de dilectione Dei et proximi, secundo de humilitate et

castitate, tertio de jejunio et oratione, quarto de eleemosynarum largitate, quinto de officiis ecclesiasticis, simul et omnibus cavendis vitiis et virtutibus adipiscendis. Hiis itaque prima die synodali judicio deliberatis, surgens archidiaconus dicat,

In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, eamus in pace.

Tunc dicat episcopus benedictionem.

Qui dispersos Israel congregat, ipse vos hic et ubique custodiat. Amen. Et non solum vos custodiat, sed ovium suarum idoneos custodes efficiat. Amen. Ut cum summo pastore Christo de gregum suorum pastione in cœlo gaudeatis. Amen. Quod ipse.

Secunda vero die iterumque ingressi, simulque ut supradictum est omnibus incurvatis, hæc ab episcopo dicantur.

Nostrorum tibi, Domine, curvantes genua cordium quæsumus, ut bonum quod a nobis a te requiritur exequamur, scilicet, ut prompta tecum sollicitudine gradientes, discretionis arduæ subtile judicium faciamus, ac misericordiam diligentes, clareamus studiis tibi placitæ actionis.

Tunc ab omnibus respondeatur, Amen.

Surgentibusque illis legatur evangelium. Vos estis sal terræ: *vel,* Estote misericordes.

Post hæc per ordinem sicut prius in suis resideant sedibus, quos inde alloquatur episcopus. Quibus verbis die secunda peractis, perquirantur quæ in synodo necessaria sunt, ac diligenti cura pertractentur. Hora autem sexta vel nona expleta, iterum pronunciet archidiaconus.

In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, eamus in pace.

Tunc dicat episcopus benedictionem.

Dominus mentis et linguæ corporalis et spiritualis det vobis incrementa gratiæ sacerdotalis. Amen.

Atque vobis ad dexteram constitutis, participium tribuat cœlestis regni. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur, qui nos ante constitutionem mundi prædestinatos, et ante finem sæculi justificatos, præscivit per infinita sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Tertia denique die omnibus ut supradictum est expletis, ecclesiam ingressis hanc item orationem, ipsis incurvatis, dicat episcopus.

Ad te, Domine, iterum clamosis vocibus proclamantes unanimiter, postulamus, ut respectu gratiæ tuæ solidati præcones virtutis efficiamur intrepidi, tuumque valeamus verbum cum omni fiducia loqui.

Et respondeant omnes, Amen.

Et surgentibus illis legatur evangelium.

Designavit Jesus.

Post hæc per ordinem resideant in sedibus suis, quos iterum alloquatur episcopus, scilicet de constitutione vel statutis. Hiis taliter prælibatis, cætera quæ in synodo sunt necessaria tractentur. Quibus omnibus expletis, hanc orationem super cunctos clericos dicat episcopus.

Nulla est, Domine, humanæ conscientiæ virtus, quæ inoffense possit tuæ voluntatis judicia experiri, et ideo imperfectum nostrum viderunt oculi tui, perfectioni deputa quæsumus quæ perfecto æquitatis fine a te concludere præoptamus. Te itaque in nostris principiis occursorem reposcimus, te quoque in hoc fine judiciorum nostrorum excessibus adesse precamur, scilicet, ut ignorantiæ parcas, ut errori indulgeas, ut perfectis votis perfectam operis efficaciam

largiaris. Et quia conscientia remordente tabescimus, ne aut ignorantia traxerit nos in errorem, aut præceps forsitan voluntas impulerit justitiam declinare: ob hoc te poscimus, te rogamus, ut si quid offensionis in hac synodi celebritate attraximus, condonale ac remissibile facere digneris, ut qui soluturi sumus aggregatam synodum a cunctis primum absolvamur nostrorum nexibus delictorum, qualiter et transgressores veniam, et confitentes tibi consequamur remunerationem sempiternam. Amen.

Huic orationi oratio paterna adjungatur, et cunctis curvatis hæc benedictio explicetur.

Omnipotens Dei Filius, qui est initium et finis, complementum vobis tribuat caritatis. Amen.

Et qui vos ad expletionem hujus fecit pervenire synodi, absolutos vos efficiat ab omni contagione delicti. Amen.

Ut ab omni reatu liberiores effecti, absoluti etiam per donum Spiritus sancti, felici reditu vestrarum sedium cubilia repetatis illæsi. Amen.

Quod ipse præstare dignetur.

Hic subjungatur. Te Deum laudamus.

Quibus expletis, archidiaconus dicat.

In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, eamus in pace.

Tunc omnes surgant, et ad propria redeant cum pace.